

RECENT NOTABLE VICTORIES FOR SOUND MORALITY. First Paper. By Helen H. Gardener, with twelve Photogravures.

Vol. 13.

AUGUST, 1895.

No. 3.

"We do not take possession of our ideas but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The ARENA

EDITED BY

B. O. FLOWER.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

GOVERNOR LEVI P. MORTON	FRONTISPIECE.	PAGE.
HELEN H. GARDENER	A BATTLE FOR SOUND MORALITY	353
(With numerous Photogravure Illustrations.)		
HON. WALTER CLARK, OF THE SUPREME BENCH OF NORTH CAROLINA,	THE TELEGRAPH IN ENGLAND	378
PROF. GEORGE H. EMMOTT, AN ARBITRATION TREATY BETWEEN	GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES	378
PROF. FRANK PARSONS	THE PEOPLE'S LAMPS, ELECTRIC LIGHT	381
B. O. FLOWER	THE AUGUST PRESENT	400
REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN ON VITAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS. II.		
A SYMPOSIUM.		
LONA I. ROBINSON. ALTONA A. CHAPMAN. FRANCES E. RUSSELL.	PUBLIC HEALTH AND NATIONAL	410
REV. FRANK BUFFINGTON VROOMAN, DEFENCE		424
HON. JOHN DAVIS	NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (II)	438
REV. W. E. MANLEY, D. D.	HUMAN DESTINY	453
GEORGE SIDNEY ROBBINS	THE MIDDLE GROUND	471
A MEMBER OF THE ORDER	THE BROTHERHOOD OF INDIA	477
WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE	RAGS (Story)	491
M. L. WELLS	A NEW VOICE FROM THE SOUTH (Character Sketch)	502
ANNIE L. MUZZEY	BROTHERHOOD (Poem)	507
BOOKS OF THE DAY.	"The Christian State: A Political Vision of Christ," Reviewed by Adeline Knapp; "Gerald Massey, Poet, Prophet and Mystic," Reviewed by James G. Clark; "First Poems and Fragments," A California Woman of Genius: Miss Knapp and her New Work, by B. O. Flower; "Enemies in the Rear," Jonathan Penn	508
INDEX		527

WORLD OF BOOKS.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE ARENA PUBLISHING COMPANY, BOSTON, MASS.:
PIERCE BUILDING, COPLEY SQUARE.

LONDON AGENTS:—Gay & Bird, 5 Chandos Street, Strand, London, W. C.

PARIS:—Brentano's, 17 Avenue de l'Opera; The Galignani Library, 224 Rue de Rivoli.

Copyright, 1895, by The Arena Publishing Co.

Entered at the Post Office at Boston, and admitted for transmission through the mails, as second-class matter.

Single Numbers, 50c. Published Monthly. Per Annum, \$5.

LESSONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BONAPARTE, by Hon. John Davis. First Paper.

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

{ Justice Clark on the Telegraph in England. Prof. Frank Parsons on Electric Lighting. Prof. George H. Emmott on Arbitration between England and America. Rev. Frank Buffington Vrooman on Public Health and National Defence.

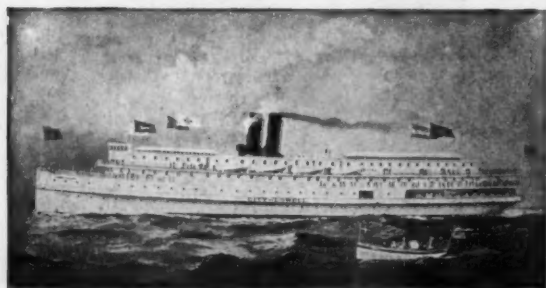
THE ARENA, BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE. A NEW VOICE FROM THE SOUTH, BY M. L. WELLS.

TWO * SPLENDID * STEAMERS

VIA
NORWICH LINE

... BETWEEN ...

... BOSTON AND NEW YORK ...



... INSIDE ROUTE ...

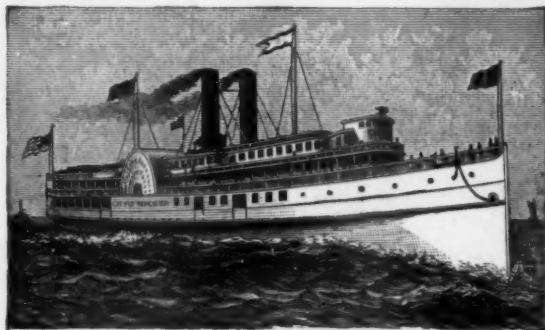
VESTIBULED STEAMBOAT EXPRESS TRAIN WITH PARLOR CARS ATTACHED leaves New York and New England Station, Boston, 7.15 P. M., week days only, connecting at New London with one of the fine steamers

CITY OF LOWELL, "The Grayhound of the Sound," or **CITY OF WORCESTER**.

Due New York 7.00 A. M.

Returning, Steamers Leave Pier 40, North River, 5.30 P. M., week days only, connecting at New London with Vestibuled Steamboat Express Train, Due Boston 9.00 A. M.

ORCHESTRAL CONCERT ON STEAMERS EVERY EVENING.



..... MEALS A La Carte or Table D'Hote.

RUNNING TIME BETWEEN BOSTON AND NEW LONDON SHORTENED TWENTY-FIVE MINUTES

W. R. BABCOCK, Gen'l Pass'r Agent.

GEO. F. RANDOLPH, Gen'l Traffic Mgr.

S

9

ED

don

R.

New

9

S



THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, WHO SIGNED THE BANNER
AGE-OF-CONSENT BILL.

THE ARENA.

No. LXIX.

AUGUST, 1895.

A BATTLE FOR SOUND MORALITY, OR THE HISTORY OF RECENT AGE-OF-CONSENT LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY HELEN H. GARDENER.

PART I. THE VICTORY IN NEW YORK, ARIZONA, AND IDAHO.

In dealing with the question of the so-called "age of consent" (which might better be called the age of protection), I wish to state at the outset that I shall not consider it in the usual way, that is to say, as legislation in the interest of morality, *per se*. What our religious and moral views may be, depends very largely upon accident of location, birth, or training, and these vary widely among equally good citizens. Nor do I believe it wise or possible to legislate morals into



HON. GEORGE W. BRUHN, N. D.

AUTHOR OF THE NEW YORK AGE-OF-CONSENT BILL.

Copyrighted 1895, by the Arena Publishing Co.

people. In one sense a law against theft is moral legislation ; so is a law against arson or murder ; but it is not *because* of the moral quality of such acts that we make laws to control those who steal or burn or murder. It is primarily because we wish to protect against violence the property and lives of the citizens of the state. It is because property-holders object to incendiarism and theft, and all men object to being murdered ; so that this moral legislation has a natural basis, inherent in the very fabric of life and citizenship, quite aside from the right or wrong of the acts from a religious or a moral point of view — a basis that is far firmer, deeper, and more universal than any one faith or than any single code of ethics.

This is equally true of the legislation sought in the interest of the girl-children of America. They have a right to legal protection of their persons, which is more imperative by far than is the protection which every state has recognized as a matter beyond controversy when applied to a girl's property or her ability to make contracts, deeds, and wills, or to her control of herself in any matters which are of importance to her as an individual, and to the state, because she is one of its citizens whose future welfare is a matter of moment to the commonwealth. The law guards girls against the immaturity of their own judgment. It says : " Until you are twenty-one years of age you may not buy or sell or deed property ; you have not sufficient judgment to make important contracts, and until you have this, the law will protect you even against yourself ; for this matter is of importance not only to you and yours, but to the state in which you are to be a helpful or a harmful or a burdensome unit henceforth."

This same position the state takes in regard to a girl's legal marriage. Experience shows that the children of mothers who were too young have not a fair birthright. The mothers themselves are too immature to give safe and healthy and sound children to the state. Then, too, the cruelty of immature maternity to the mother herself has been held (in the more civilized nations) as a matter of serious moment.

Now, in regard to unmarried motherhood, or prostitution outside of wedlock, the state has temporized with the abnormally developed sex-perversion and cravings of the dominant sex until the danger to the state and to society is very real and all-pervading ; until famous physicians and alienists everywhere declare that " not one family in ten can show a clean heredity, free from the poison of the vilest disease known to the race " ; until the " civilized " countries are filled with epileptics, syphilitics, imbeciles, sex-perverts, and consumptives, and the insane asylums expand to alarming proportions ; until prisons are crowded with criminals



HON. BAXTER C. SMELZER, N. D.
SENATOR, OF NEW YORK.

who were born with vice in their blood; until paupers, the offspring of outcasts, burden the state and curse — they know not what.

It is notoriously true that brothels and vice-factories get their recruits from the ranks of childhood — from the ignorance which is unprotected by law. These children's lives are wrecked, and the state is burdened with disease and vice and crime and insanity, which is

transmitted and retransmitted until its proportions appall those who understand. Now it is our contention, first, that these children, for and because of their own right to a fair chance in life to be well and happy and successful, are themselves entitled to protection, if need be, from even their own ignorance or desire in this matter as in matters of property, contracts, or marriage, and second, that in the interest of public health and future generations, it is of vast importance to the state to protect



HON. D. E. AINSWORTH, OF NEW YORK.

her children in this matter also (even against their own wishes) until their own judgments may be supposed to have matured sufficiently for the state to say; "Now you must choose for yourself and *take the consequences*. If you choose now to pollute yourself and the public fountain of health, I cannot interfere, *unless* you use violence upon others, *until* you become in one form or another a public charge. With your morals, as such, I have nothing to do; but with your capacity and willingness to add to the volume of crime, vice, disease, insanity, and mortality, I *have* something to do, and I will protect myself, also. Until you were of mature age and judgment, I also protected you even against yourself."

This is the position of those of us who urge immediate legislation in every state upon the "age of consent." That most of the writers who have taken part in the agitation have not based their arguments wholly upon this scientific and natural basis is doubtless due to the fact that this form of legislation appeals strongly to many who are accustomed to look upon all such matters from a religious or philanthropic point of view. It has been the policy of the ARENA to let each writer give his or her own views and arguments as he or she saw fit. But the state of New York struck the basic principle and keynote when her two State Medical Associations* (Allopathic and Homœopathic) passed resolutions asking for this legislation "in the interest of public health and clean heredity," in the interest of future generations as well as in that of the unfortunate children whom its protection will save from the physical hell which they do not understand is in store for them and from the social degradation which is also inevitable, and as cruel and relentless as the folds of a python.

The great Empire State passed this measure with but one dissenting vote (Mr. John P. Madden),† and now stands in the

* MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.
F. C. CURTIS, M. D., Secretary, No. 17 Washington Avenue.

ALBANY, N. Y., May 15, 1895.

Your letter addressed to me March 30, as President of the New York State Medical Society at New York, City came to hand recently through Dr. George W. Brush of the Assembly. I have only to say in regard to the action of this society in reference to the proposed legislation limiting the legal age of consent to eighteen years, that the resolution of which your letter contains a copy was offered in the society at its annual meeting in February, by Dr. George W. Brush, a delegate to the society from the Kings County Medical Society, and member of assembly. *It was adopted without dissent and referred to the committee on legislation.*

Yours respectfully,

F. C. CURTIS.

The same action was taken by the Homœopathic State Society, but I have not been able to reach its President.—H. H. G.

† Names of those who voted in the negative in assembly: First vote—Jacob L. Ten Eyck, John J. Cain, James A. Donnelly, Samuel J. Foley, Daniel J. Gleason, John P. Corrigan, John A. Hennessy, Henry J. Staley. Final vote—John P. Madden. All who voted in the negative were Democrats.



SENATOR EUGENE F. O'CONNOR.
CHAIRMAN OF JUDICIARY COMMITTEE OF NEW YORK.

front rank not only in what she did, but because of the broad and comprehensive basis upon which her action rested. I am pleased to give a full report of the action in New York, and also to give the pictures of a few of those to whom the Empire State owes a debt which reaches far into the future. Many whose names and pictures are not given deserve almost equal credit, but it is impossible in these pages to go more into detail. In a pamphlet for future educational work this may be done.

NEW YORK.

1. Brief of Dr. George W. Brush, on Bill Increasing Age of Consent to Eighteen Years in New York.

This bill was introduced by request. I offer no apology for its introduction. I wish I could make its provisions stronger, and hope for its passage.

It is a bill in the interests of morality and the uplifting of society. It throws an additional safeguard around the American home. It is a bill to limit an evil which causes more misery and shame than any other, with perhaps the one exception of the abuse of alcoholic stimulants. It is a bill to protect our sis-

ters and daughters in their innocent childhood and until they shall have arrived at an age when they will know more of their obligations to society and the world.

It is a bill which, if it becomes a law — as I believe it will by the votes of the legislature of this state — will place the great state of New York in the van upon this question and lift higher the standard of purity and morality. Anything which does that makes better citizens, helps the state, and brings a larger degree of happiness to our people. It is the manifest duty of every member of this house to so act that laws may be passed that will preserve the integrity of our institutions; and any measure which comes before us that is a step forward and upward should meet with our cordial support. Such a measure I believe this one to be, and so believing I was glad to be honored by being asked to present it.

This bill is backed by some of the most influential scientific bodies in this state, who have urged upon us its passage. The New York State Medical Society, which met in this city on Feb. 5, 6, and 7, by a unanimous vote passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the proposed legislation limiting the legal age of consent in this state to eighteen years instead of sixteen is a measure calculated to limit the social evil, with its attendant diseases and physical as well as moral degradation; therefore,

Resolved, That the proposed legislation meets with the cordial support and approval of the Medical Society of the State of New York.

The above resolutions were proposed to the Medical Society of the State of New York at its annual meeting held in Albany, Feb. 5, 6, 7, 1895, and were unanimously passed.

(Signed) FREDERICK C. CURTIS, M. D., *Secretary*.

The New York State Homœopathic Medical Society unanimously passed similar resolutions at its meeting one week later. Other organizations and societies have added their voices of approval to these.

Why should the law permit the most precious jewel of womanhood to be bartered or given away before its possessor can legally convey real estate? Why should our daughters be subjected to the perils of the approaches of the "wolves in sheep's clothing" who entice them unwittingly to their destruction, and the brutes be privileged to hide themselves under the cloak of the law?

It is a significant fact that, in the only two states in this great nation where women are privileged to vote, the age of consent is the highest, thus showing what woman will do to lift the standard of purity in politics if she is given the vote.

It ought not to be necessary for me to make any lengthy argument in such a body as this on such a question; there cannot be



MISS FLORENCE FAIRVIEW.
INDEPENDENT WORKER, NEW YORK.

any good reasons advanced against its passage. I do not see how any man can vote against this bill and go home and face his mother, his wife, or his sister without a blush of shame. I ask you therefore, gentlemen of this assembly, on behalf of the medical profession which I represent, in behalf of all who love purity and truth, to pass this just measure by a unanimous vote, and by thus doing place the great state of New York among those which have registered themselves in favor of a larger protection to womanhood.

II. Copy of Bill Passed.

STATE OF NEW YORK.

No. 667, 786, 1068, 2345.

Int. 575.

IN ASSEMBLY,

February 7, 1895.

Introduced by Mr. BRUSH — read once and referred to the committee on codes, reported favorably from said committee with amendments, reprinted, placed on the order of second reading and referred to the committee on revision, reported from said committee without recommendations and ordered to a third reading, amended on third reading and reprinted, further amended and ordered reprinted.

AN ACT

To amend the penal code in relation to the age of consent.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. Subdivision five of section two hundred and seventy-eight of the penal code is hereby amended to read as follows:

5. When she is, at the time, unconscious of the nature of the act, and this is known to the defendant, or when she is in the custody of the law, or of any officer thereof, or in any place of lawful detention, temporary or permanent, is guilty of rape in the first degree and punishable by imprisonment for not more than twenty years. A person who perpetrates an act of sexual intercourse with a female, not his wife, under the age of eighteen years, under circumstances not amounting to rape in the first degree, is guilty of rape in the second degree, and punishable with imprisonment for not more than ten years.

§ 2. Subdivisions one and four of section two hundred and eighty-two of the penal code are hereby amended to read as follows:

1. Takes, receives, employs, harbors or uses, or causes or procures to be taken, received, employed or harbored or used, a female under the age of eighteen years, for the purpose of prostitution; or, not being her husband, for the purpose of sexual intercourse; or without the consent of her father, mother, guardian or other person having legal charge of her person, for the purpose of marriage; or.

4. Being parent, guardian or other person having legal charge of the person of a female under the age of eighteen years, consents to her taking or detaining by any person for the purpose of prostitution or sexual intercourse.

§ 3. This act shall take effect on the first day of September, eighteen hundred and ninety-five.

The above is the form in which the bill was passed. The vote in the assembly the first time was 81 ayes to 8 nays; in the senate, 22 ayes to 6 nays. On the final vote, the bill having been slightly altered, the vote in the assembly was 81 ayes, 1 nay; in the Senate the bill passed unanimously. The governor signed the bill April 27.

III. The History of the Bill.

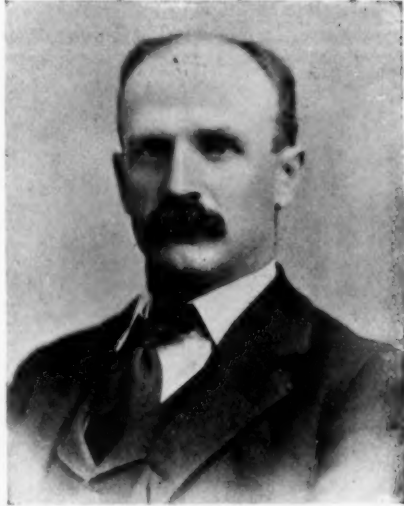
ALBANY, April 30, 1895.

Enclosed is a copy of the bill as finally passed and signed by the governor last Saturday, April 27.

Let me say that the bill has had an earnest advocate in one of your own sex, Miss Florence Fairview, who has been active and zealous in its behalf and is entitled to much credit for its final success.

The day of its introduction was the day of the meeting of the New York State Medical Society in this city, and being a delegate to that society from my county it occurred to me that it would be a great help to have the endorsement of that body; accordingly I wrote the resolution a copy of which I sent you,

and the next morning, in a conference with the president and secretary, found them in full accord with me. The resolution was presented, accompanied by a few appropriate remarks, and was unanimously passed. Obtaining a certified copy of it I was armed for future work. It so happened that the very next week the Homœopathical Medical Society of the state also met in



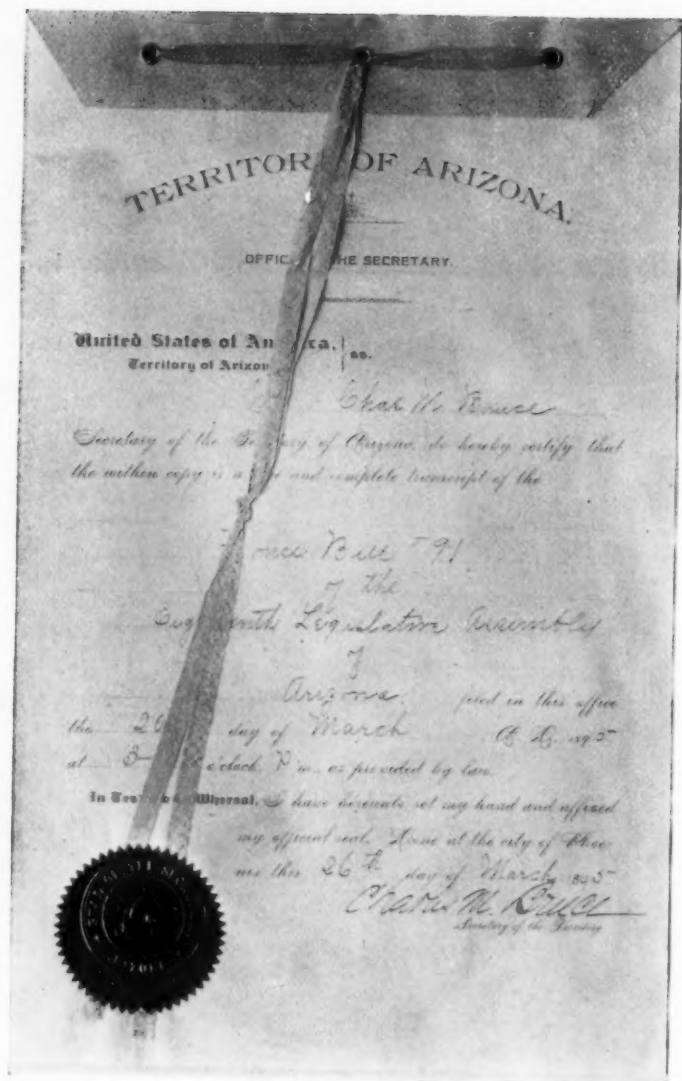
HON. WILLIAM C. BARNES, OF ARIZONA.

Albany. Coming up in the train I chanced to meet the secretary, with whom I was acquainted, and showing him a copy of the resolution, asked him to put it before his society, which he did, and it was passed by that society also.

The bill has had a somewhat varied experience, for while there has been no serious open opposition to it, there have been risks which ought not to have been incurred, and a state-



HON. ANCIL MARTIN, M. D., OF ARIZONA.



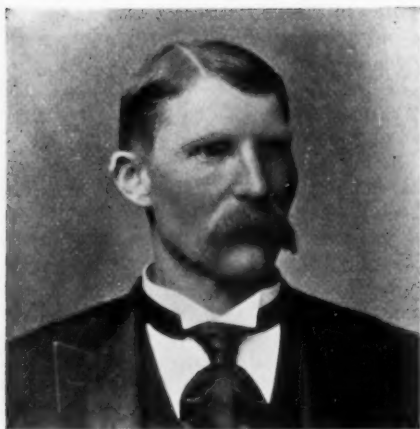
ment of them may be of value in future to others. First, the bill was introduced almost simultaneously in the house and senate. Then some over-zealous friends gave a similar bill to two other gentlemen, and after my bill had been reported out of committee and passed in the assembly, one of the other bills was reported and passed in the senate, and not being identical, one had to give way. In the meantime my bill went to the senate and was passed, and the senate bill was in the assembly committee. In the final form in which my bill was printed and went to the governor one important word was plural instead of singular, and the result was that the bill had to be recalled from the governor, amended, and repassed by both assembly and senate.

My suggestion, therefore, to the friends of this work in other states would be that great care be exercised. Give the measure into the hands of one man only, and let him urge it to final success. The history of the New York bill shows that the assembly passed it twice, and the senate practically three times. This alone would defeat a measure where there was much opposition.

The gentlemen who have aided me in carrying this bill to a successful issue are Hon. Baxter C. Smelzer, M. D., of the senate, and Hon. Danforth E. Ainsworth, of the assembly, the leader of the house. I should also mention the services of Senator Eugene F. O'Connor, the chairman of the judiciary committee, before which committee the measure was considered in the senate. There has been little opposition, however, and no argument on the floor. The work has been done quietly by talking with individual members. I am proud to say that the gentlemen of the New York legislature have needed but little persuasion to see the justice of this measure. One of the weightiest arguments has been that a girl should not legally surrender her most precious possession without her parents' con-



HON. M. R. MOORE, OF ARIZONA.



HON. ROBERT NEILL, OF IDAHO.

sent until she could legally marry without that consent; or, in other words, that, until the law declares a woman to be old enough to choose for herself, it shall be a crime to despoil her of that which the law supposes she is not old enough to know the value of, nor to estimate the consequences of its loss. One of those who voted against the measure on its first passage yielded to this argument and voted for the measure on its second

and final passage. The vote on its final passage in both houses was practically unanimous, only one vote being recorded in the negative, that of John P. Madden, of Queens.

I trust the advance step which New York has taken in this matter will be an incentive to other states to fall into line, and thus lift the standard of purity and public health throughout the nation.

Very cordially and sincerely yours,

GEORGE W. BRUSH, M. D.,

Assemblyman, Seventh District, Kings Co., N. Y. State.

ALBANY, May 8, 1895.

I thank you for your words of appreciation. As a rule this is forgotten. Those who work hard to accomplish a result if they succeed must be content with the satisfaction which comes with final triumph; and I have taken peculiar pleasure in this piece of legislative work, for I have earnestly believed in its righteousness.

As to your questions: The age of majority for the conveyance of real estate in this state is twenty-one years. A girl can convey personal property by will or otherwise at eighteen, and could before the age-of-consent law was enacted marry at sixteen, but this law places the age at eighteen. The law does not take effect until Sept. 1, 1895, that being the rule in all cases of amendments to the code. I am more and more impressed with the great importance of this advance step.

Very sincerely yours,

GEORGE W. BRUSH, M. D.,

Assemblyman, Seventh District, Kings County.

From this splendid victory in New York, we leave the southern and eastern states still on the Black List, and find that the West has far outstripped in progress all others except this one great eastern leader. HELEN H. GARDENER.

ARIZONA.

To the medical profession again do we owe much in this contest. To these men, who see and contend hand-to-hand with the ravages of that vilest of social cancers, who try generation after generation to stay the results of diseases whose very name their victims often do not know, is Arizona also indebted. Dr. Ancil Martin, in his address as the retiring president of the Arizona Medical Association in February, 1895, among other true and forceful things said:

The age of consent in this territory is fourteen years. This should be remedied by at least fixing the age to that of the legal majority of women, that is twenty-one years. If a woman in the eyes of the law is too young before her twenty-first birthday to manage her own estate or to marry without the consent of her lawful guardian, then she is surely too young before that age to decide the great question of the barter of her virginity, that which every man demands of the woman he loves, and the loss of which is a cancer which destroys all that is good and pure in her own heart. The everlasting blight upon her life, the horrible shame and the ever-pointing finger of scorn that follows every woman who departs from the path of rectitude, let it be through ignorance or through the affection she places upon the destroyer of her hopes, is a crying shame which the manliness of gentlemen should hasten to rectify. This matter cannot be remedied until first the laws of consent are modified, and second, the man made equally guilty with the woman. The law insists that unless the woman resist to the last the attempt of a man upon her honor she is guilty, and under the laws of consent the man is without guilt. Public sentiment also condemns the woman and unblushingly overlooks the man's offence. Men as lawmakers and gentlemen should blush at the injustice. Let us, therefore, urge the necessity of this change in the statute.

Parents and teachers should instruct their children in matters pertaining to sexuality. A woman's mind can be as pure knowing all the dangers that may befall her during life, as it can be were she cast upon the world and have these horrors come upon her with a shock that at once places before her mind the great sinfulness of the world and the bestiality of man. Place her by education in a position to ward off the first approach of sin, and she will then come in actual contact with it not nearly so often and never so closely. Give her knowledge that she may have some weapon of defence, at the same time be in a better position to aid and elevate the less fortunate of her sex. . . .

While all of this may be true, it is not only possible, but a positive fact that because of this laxity and quasi-encouragement by the medical profession of the marriages of syphilitics, many marry who should not, and the innocent offspring of such parents must suffer the penalty of such a crime. Crime is not too harsh a word.

for it is a crime for one individual by his deliberate act to deprive another of health, perhaps of intellect—a crime if not punishable, at least most shameful. . . .

Great criminals, as great individuals in any direction, are born, not made. A power stronger than themselves—stronger than their education, which may have been good; stronger than their environment, which may be the best—impels them on to their destruction; that is the power of inherited defective or diseased brain cells. Education and environment can greatly modify the tendency of inherent evil, but the inherited defective mental organization will sometimes break the bonds of its educational restraint and impel the individual to crime in spite of his education. There are individuals of defective mental organization who have absolutely no moral sense; who will lie, steal, and commit all manner of evils without in the least appreciating the enormity of their acts. These are among the born criminals. It is as impossible to turn them from their evil as to replace their diseased brain cells with new ones. Tracing the ancestry of this class of criminals shows that they are descendants of neurotics, insane, epileptics, inebriates, or some of the many mental derangements. This is demonstrated in the histories of some of our greatest crimes—the assassination of Lincoln by Booth; of Garfield by Guiteau; the murder of Carter Harrison by Prendergast; the recent attempt on the life of the king of Italy by Passanante, the families of whom were found to be highly neurotic.

The criminal may not be such because of the circumstances that have governed his life, or because of the influence of his environment at the time of the commission of his crime; but the father at the time of begetting his son may have indelibly stamped upon the spermatozoa the impression of his own mental condition at that time, and the child may have been a made-to-order criminal before its birth. The father might not ordinarily be of a vicious disposition, but his mental condition at the time of copulation may have been influenced by some passion, great mental excitement, or he may have been in poor bodily health, or suffering from excesses of some sort, or under the influence of liquor, and have had in mind all the delirious fantasies of a madman. This child must constantly battle against his inheritance if he would lead a life equally blameless as that of his more fortunate brother. Because of the infallible law that like tends to produce like, an individual diseased physically or mentally passes on to his child a tendency to that physical or mental disease from which he is suffering, or transmits a condition so far removed from the normal one of health that some form of disease is surely developed.

The parents are under the greatest obligations to their children, and children are under comparatively few to their parents. The child does not will itself into the world. When its intellect is so far developed as to reason it finds itself brought forth to struggle for an existence, to contend against the hardships of life, through no volition of its own. If a child has any right, it is that it shall be born free and healthy, and that the parents who conceived it should have realized the great responsibility of creating a new life, and have made every effort to bring into the world a being as intelligent and as healthy as possible. The sins of the father shall be transmitted to his children even to the third and fourth generation. This is a most wise Biblical saying, but not sufficiently strong. The sins of the parents may be a lasting curse to their posterity to the end of time.

Heredity being the foundation of all life is as great a power for evil as for good. Right living, education, and physical and mental culture may overcome to a degree the sins of ancestors. Knowl-

edge is not transmissible, but the influence that acquired knowledge has wrought upon character, that is, the individual mental peculiarities acquired by education and training and environment, may be transmitted. Hence all the mental and physical improvement of the condition to which we were born, is to be a pleasure not only to ourselves, but to our children and all future generations. Inebriety, animality, and kindred habits tend to lower man in the scale of life and retard progress to that high standard which nature designed him to ultimately occupy, and cause all misery, all pain, all suffering, and all ills of life.

The men of Arizona responded nobly, and early in April there came to us the certified copy of the age-of-consent bill with the seal of Arizona upon it, together with this brief but wholly satisfactory

Report.

"Enclosed find a certified copy of age-of-consent bill, passed by the legislature recently adjourned. I think it will meet with your approval. This bill was presented by Hon. William C. Barnes, of Holbrook, Apache county. It received the support of every member of the house, excepting Hon. J. O. Marshall, of Maricopa county, he objecting on the ground that there should be no age of consent, in other words, any unlawful intercourse should be rape. In the council, the bill was opposed by Babbitt of Coconino county and Aspinwall of Apache county, reasons not known. Hon. William C. Barnes, of Apache county, was the gentleman who formulated and introduced the bill; and Hon. W. R. Moore, of Pinal county, was active in procuring its passage."

Penal Code, Revised Statutes, Arizona.

Section 423. Rape is an act of sexual intercourse accomplished with a female, not a wife of the perpetrator, under either of the following circumstances:

1. Where the female is under the age of fourteen [now eighteen] years.
2. Where she is incapable, through lunacy or any other unsoundness of mind, whether temporary or permanent, of giving legal consent.
3. Where she resists, but her resistance is overcome by force or violence.
4. Where she is prevented from resisting by threats of immediate and great bodily harm, accompanied by apparent power of execution, or by any intoxicating narcotic or anæsthetic substance, administered by or with the privity of the accused.
5. Where she is at the time unconscious of the nature of the act, and this is known to the accused.
6. Where she submits, under a belief that the person committing the act is her husband, and this belief is induced by any artifice, pretence, or concealment practised by the accused, with intent to induce such belief.

Section 426. Rape is punishable by confinement in the territorial prison for life, or for any term of years not less than five.

AN ACT

Relating to the Age of Consent.

Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Arizona:

Section 1. In line one, section 423, chapter 1, of Title ix, Revised Statutes of Arizona, in that part known as the Penal Code, the word "fourteen" is amended to read "eighteen."

Section 2. This act to be in force from and after its passage.

Section 3. All acts or parts of acts in conflict with this are hereby repealed.

A. J. DORAN, President.

J. H. CARPENTER, Speaker.

Approved this 19th day of March, A. D., 1895.

LOUIS C. HUGHES, Governor.

Filed in the office of the Secretary of the Territory of Arizona this 20th day of March, A. D., 1895, at 3 P. M.

CHARLES M. BRUCE, Secretary.

By F. B. DEVEREUX, Assistant.

IDAHO.

Next in order is Idaho, and since many states have sent to us for good bills, and others have written saying they will need the best possible bills for their next session, and since this Idaho bill is brief and simple and direct, I give it, together with the report sent by its author in response to our request:

LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF IDAHO

Third Session

H. B. No. 73.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

By Neill.

AN ACT

To amend Section 6765 of the Revised Statutes so as to raise the age of consent to seventeen * years.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Idaho:

Section 1. That Section 6765 of the Revised Statutes is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 6765. Rape is an act of sexual intercourse accomplished with a female not the wife of the perpetrator, under either of the following circumstances:

1. Where the female is under the age of seventeen years.
2. When she is incapable through lunacy, or any other unsoundness of mind, whether temporary or permanent, of giving legal consent.
3. Where she resists, but her resistance is overcome by force or violence.
4. Where she is prevented from resisting by threats of immediate and great bodily harm, accompanied by apparent power of execution; or by any intoxicating narcotic, or anæsthetic substance administered by or with the privity of the accused.

* Amended to read eighteen.

5. Where she is at the time unconscious of the nature of the act, and this is known to the accused.

6. Where she submits under a belief that the person committing the act is her husband, and the belief is induced by artifice, pretence or concealment practised by the accused, with intent to induce such belief.

§ 2. All acts, so far as they are inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

Passed. The former age was 14.

1. Report of Representative Neill.

Your information as to my being the member who introduced and secured the passage of the age-of-consent bill in the Idaho legislature is correct.

The bill was a house bill, for an act to amend section 6765 of the Revised Statutes of the state of Idaho, so as to raise the age of consent to eighteen (from fourteen) years. The bill passed as introduced at eighteen years. There was no other bill on the same subject introduced.

The penalty for rape in our state is incarceration in the penitentiary for a year or more, to ten, depending upon the aggravating circumstances surrounding the case.

My bill did receive some opposition in the house, but when the opponents saw that there was such a determined effort on the part of the friends of the bill to pass it, they retired and set up an opposition in the senate, where they hoped to defeat it. When the bill came up in the senate it was referred to its appropriate committee, a member of which Vincent Bierbower (Republican), from the town of Shoshone in Logan county, moved to strike out the words and figures eighteen (18) and insert in lieu thereof the words and figures sixteen (16) years. In support of his motion he stated that in looking over the list of the different states of the Union, he found that sixteen years would be the average, and that we should be governed by the action of the majority of our sister states in matters of this nature, and not act independently and alone when there was such a departure from the general rules or custom of other states as desired by the supporters of my bill.

In reply to Senator Bierbower, Senator Edward Boyce, of Wardner, Shoshone county, Idaho (Populist), stated on the floor of the senate that Senator Bierbower was either trying to deceive the members of that body or he had not looked the matter up to be sufficiently well posted to state the facts correctly; there were no states in which the age of consent was over eighteen, only one or two as high as eighteen; very few states where it was as high as sixteen

or seventeen, while the great majority were very far below even fourteen; and that no mathematical calculations would warrant Senator Bierbower in his conclusion. We all have too high a regard for Senator Bierbower's intelligence to think that he didn't know that sixteen years would not be the average age of consent, as he stated it would be. Senator Bierbower is a lawyer by profession and of such recognized ability as to be the attorney for the Union Pacific R. R. for his section of the state.

When the vote was taken on the amendment, it prevailed; all the Republicans voted aye on it, while the one Democrat (there being only one Democrat in the senate) and every Populist senator voted against the Bierbower amendment*.

The political complexion of the Idaho State senate is eleven Republicans, six Populists, and one Democrat, who was elected on a fusion with the Republicans.

Now when the W. C. T. U. people found out that the senate had been guilty of so great a crime they began in earnest to work and talk, beg and pray that the senate would reconsider the vote by which they substituted sixteen for eighteen years. The W. C. T. U. enlisted all the good people who had not already been at work (both men and women) to try and prevail upon the members of the senate to reconsider their vote on the bill. Among the good women who worked and labored for a reconsideration of the senate vote was Mrs. Rebecca Mitchell. No one did more to secure the enactment of the law as we now have it, making it a penitentiary offence to entice and ruin our girl-children; and I thank all the good women and men for their work in this direction. The W. C. T. U. people did great and good work in this matter, and are doing more to raise the morals of our state than anybody else. The senate did reconsider their vote and raised the age again to eighteen years, where it was as passed in the house.

* It will be observed that while all the negative votes in New York were Democratic, all in Idaho were Republican. It will also be observed that a new method of argument and a wholly original reason for defeating the bill were here used. It is fortunate for Idaho that her legislators were sufficiently well-informed as to the laws of the other states to be able to meet this insidious form of argument promptly, and prove its entire falsity in a manner which reacted disastrously upon the legal member who attempted by a misstatement of fact to defeat the bill. The four leading opponents of the bill were Charles A. Myer, of Placerville; George D. Golden, Rocky Bar; Robert S. Browne, Moscow; Vincent Bierbower, Shoshone. The most hearty supporters of the bill were Robert Neill, Wallace; James Hanrahan, Challis; Tannis E. Miller, Genesee; John E. Rees, Lemhi Agency; Cassius M. Dav, Lewiston; Henry Heitfeld, Kendrick; Edward Boyce, Wardner; John E. Steen, Murray; Gilbert F. Smith, Meadows; Joseph D. Daly, Hunter; Albert Walters, Hailey; Wilford W. Clark, Montpelier; Robert V. Cozier, Blackfoot; John L. Smith, Oakley; John J. McCarthy, Challis; Willis J. Hicks, Challis; Joshua G. Rowton, Grangeville; William L. Thompson, Mason; John S. Randolph, Palouse, Wash.; Ira S. Waring, Soldier; Charles C. Vance, Salmon City; Richard J. Monroe, Lewiston; Thomas A. Davis, Malad; John T. Bennett, Silver City; John J. Sanders, Burke; James D. Young, Wallace; Harley L. Hughes, Gem.—H. H. G.

The Populist party as a party in our state is pledged to this class of legislation, and the Populist members tried hard to live up to the pledges of the party on this subject. I think that by the enactment of laws of this kind in every state in this great government, we should do more to elevate and purify our race than in any other way. A girl-child would not be ruined before she could reason, and our homes would not be entered by the low, licentious, and hellish seducers, who would make them desolate, and in many cases cause mothers and fathers with heavy and broken hearts to long for the time when the grave would open and hide them and their shame and grief.

Yes, I might say more, but I will not, feeling assured that the ARENA and the other good journals and people will never rest satisfied and stop work till much more good shall have been accomplished in this direction.

Senator Vincent Bierbower, mentioned above as leading the opposition, was honored by the Republican members of our state senate by being elected president pro tem. of that body.

Enclosed you will please find a roster of the present members of the Idaho legislature, marked so as to show you how each member voted and also the active and passive workers. John J. McCarthy, Populist, was the best support I had, although the others named did splendid work.

Thanking you for the honor you have conferred on me thus far in your endorsement of my honest and humble work, I remain

Yours very respectfully,

ROBERT NEILL.

THE TELEGRAPH IN ENGLAND.

BY JUDGE WALTER CLARK.

As taxes upon the diffusion of intelligence among men and deficiencies in the postal service affect everyone, I condense the following from the official report on the workings of the government telegraph in England made to our government by the United States consul at Southampton, Eng., and printed in the last number of the "Consular Reports." He says:

On Jan. 29, 1870, all the telegraphs in the United Kingdom were acquired by the government from the corporations which had previously operated them, and thenceforward became an integral part of the postoffice. The English people owed this great measure in their interest, like so many others, to Mr. Gladstone, who bore down all opposition from the companies, who were making big profits. Till then the districts paying best had ample service, though at high rates (as is still the case with us), while whole sections off the lines of railway were destitute of telegraphic facilities. The government at once extended the telegraph to all sections and reduced the rate to one cent a word. The following is the result. In 1870, under private ownership, seven million individual messages and twenty-two million words of press dispatches were annually sent. Now that the telegraph is operated by the postoffice the annual number of individual messages sent is seventy millions (ten times as many), and over six hundred million words of press dispatches (thirty times as many) are used. This at a glance demonstrates the overwhelming benefit to the public of the change and their appreciation of it.

The press rates have been reduced so low that every weekly country paper can afford to print the latest telegraphic dispatches as it goes to press, and a telegraph or telephone is at every country postoffice. In London the telegraph has largely superseded the mail for all the small and necessary details of life—to announce that you are going to dine at a certain house, or to inform your wife that you are detained on business and not to keep dinner waiting, and the like—over thirty thousand telegrams being sent daily in that city alone.

The following is quoted from the consul verbatim: "The service is performed with the most perfect punctuality. It is calculated that the average time employed to-day in the transmission of a telegram between two commercial cities in England varies from seven to nine minutes, while in 1870 (under private ownership) two to three hours were necessary.

"The rate of one cent a word includes delivery within the postal limits of any town or within one mile of the postoffice in the country. Beyond that limit the charge is twelve cents per mile for delivery of a message. The telegraph being operated as a constituent part of the postal service it is not possible to state how much profit the government receives from it, but the English government does not consider that it should be treated as a source of revenue. It regards it a means of information and education for the masses and gives facilities of all kinds for its extension in all directions."

This unbiased and impartial report, officially made to our government, is worthy of thought and consideration. It may be added that in every civilized country except this, the telegraph has long since been adopted as one of the indispensable agencies of an up-to-date postoffice department. Even in half-civilized Paraguay (as we deem it) they have better postal facilities than we, for the postoffice there transmits telegrams at one cent a word and rents out telephones at one dollar per month.

At present, owing to high rates, forty-six per cent of all telegrams in this country are sent by speculators (who thus get an advantage over producers) and only eight per cent are social or ordinary business messages. In Belgium, where the government rate is less than one cent per message, the social and ordinary business messages between man and man are sixty-three per cent of the whole. Figures could not be more eloquent as to the vast benefit this confers upon the great mass of people, who bear the bulk of the burdens of any government and receive so few of its benefits. With the telegraphs and telephones operated by our postoffice department at moderate rates, say five or even ten cents per message, a similar change would take place here. Individual and news messages would increase tenfold to thirtyfold, as elsewhere—probably more—and the monopoly now held by speculators would cease.

The average telegraph rate now charged in this country, by the reports to congress, is thirty-one cents per message—three times the average rate in all other countries

under postoffice telegraph service; and experts say that our government could probably afford, with the vast increase of business, a uniform rate of five cents, as the average cost of a message is about three cents. According to experts the telegraph plants now in use could be superseded by the government with a superior plant at \$15,000,000, while the present corporations are strangling commerce to earn heavy dividends on a watered stock of over \$150,000,000.

According to English experience the transfer of the telegraph to the postoffice department would result in (1) a uniform rate of ten cents for ten words, between all points, or possibly less; (2) an increase in individual messages of at least ten for every one now sent; (3) an increase in press dispatches of thirty words or more for every one now sent; (4) a popularization of the telegraph for all uses, social or business; (5) an increase in the promptness of delivery, the average there being now seven to nine minutes as against two to three hours formerly; (6) no section would be destitute, but at each one of our seventy thousand postoffices there would be a telephone or a telegraph. By adopting the telephone at most postoffices, instead of the telegraph, the increase in the number of postoffice employees would be inconsiderable.

The vast influence of the great telegraph monopoly can be used for political purposes by coloring news and in other more direct ways. When the telegraph service is made a part of the postoffice and placed under civil-service rules and subject to the direct force of public opinion, the experience in other countries has been that it exerts no more power on party politics than the army or judiciary. Originally the telegraph (in 1846) belonged to the postoffice. When it was abandoned to private corporations on account of its supposed expense, Henry Clay, Cave Johnson, and other leaders of both parties had the foresight to foretell the mischief done in abandoning an essential governmental function to private monopoly.

To prevent this great benefit being given to the masses and to preserve to consolidated capital the control of the most efficient avenues of intelligence with the great advantages thus given that element, in addition to the enormous tolls it can thus levy on the rest of the nation, there is practically only the inexorable will of one powerful and exacting corporation which has fastened itself on the body politic. It is the oldest trust in this country. It is the pioneer on which so many others have been patterned. It is the most burdensome because its oppressive tolls restrict

communication between men and levy a tax on knowledge. It is illegal, since the constitution requires congress to establish the postoffice, to leave this most essential function of a modern, up-to-date postal service in the hands of private corporations.

The telegraph is a source of gigantic emoluments to these corporations, while the government restricts its postal services to antiquated and more dilatory processes. It is no wonder that such a postal service is not self-sustaining and shows an annual deficit while the telegraph companies pay enormous dividends. In other countries, where the telegraph is a part of the postoffice, that department shows annual profits; but the monopoly fastened on us is intrenched in the sympathy of all other trusts. It has the support of the large city dailies (all owned by large capitalists) who fear the competition of dailies in small towns and of the weeklies if news should become free, and its transmission cheaper, over a government postal telegraph. It is backed by the powerful lobby which it constantly maintains at Washington, paid out of the excessive telegraphic rates still exacted in this country alone out of a long-suffering and too patient people. And not least, it is said that it distributes franks to every senator and every member of congress. How many accept these favors and how many are influenced by them no one knows except the corporation officials, but that *they* do know may be seen from the fact that tenders of such favors have not ceased.

AN ARBITRATION TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.*

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE H. EMMOTT.

The part taken by Great Britain in a series of transactions now extending over some seven or eight years establishes, I believe, in the clearest possible manner the desire on the part of a large portion of the electorate of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to enter into a permanent treaty, providing for the settlement of all international disputes which may hereafter arise between that country and the United States, not involving the existence of the national life, by means of arbitration.

I should like in the first place to quote verbatim the memorial signed by three hundred and fifty-four members of the British House of Commons and recently presented to the President and Congress of this country. It is in these words:

In response to the resolution adopted by Congress on April 4th, 1890, the British House of Commons, supported in its decision by Mr. Gladstone, on June 16th, 1893, unanimously affirmed its willingness to co-operate with the government of the United States in settling disputes between the two countries by means of arbitration. The undersigned members of the British parliament, while cordially thanking Congress for having, by its resolution, given such an impetus to the movement and called forth such a response from our government, earnestly hope that Congress will follow up its resolution, and crown its desire by inviting our government to join in framing a treaty which shall bind the two nations to refer to arbitration disputes which diplomacy fails to adjust. Should such a proposal be made, our heartiest efforts would be used in its support, and we shall rejoice that the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland have resolved to set such a splendid example to the other nations of the world.

Three hundred and fifty-four members of the British House of Commons have thus indicated in a formal manner to the United States that, in their belief, the initiative should come from her. They have expressed a willingness

* This article is the substance of an address delivered before a convention at Lake Mohonk, June 6, 1896, called to consider the question of influencing public opinion in favor of the settlement of international disputes by means of arbitration.

to use every legitimate means to urge the matter upon the attention of their own government as soon as any move is made by the government of the United States, and they have promised to do their very best to obtain a hearty coöperation on the part of their own government with any measure of practical importance which may be suggested by the government of the United States.

The significance of this movement on the part of three hundred and fifty-four members of the British House of Commons can hardly be overestimated. A careful perusal of the names shows that amongst the signers were men of every shade of political belief. There are, as one would expect to be the case, a large number of Liberals, including the Right Honorable Sir John Lubbock, the Right Honorable C. P. Villiers, the lifelong friend and associate of Cobden and Bright, and many others; but the list also contains the names of Sir Richard Webster, the late Conservative attorney-general, widely known and universally respected as one of the leading members of the English common-law bar, and a large number of the leading Liberal Unionists.

Now, speaking as an Englishman, and yet as one a very large part of the last ten years of whose professional life has been spent in the service of one of the great universities of the United States, in close contact at Baltimore, Washington and elsewhere with much of what is best and noblest in your noble country, and loving it, as I have long since learned to do, next only to my own, I have no hesitation in saying that this memorial expresses the heartfelt sentiment of a large part not only of the House of Commons, but also of the British electorate.

This memorial was in no sense a suggestion of the British government as such. I do not see attached to it—I hardly should expect to see attached to it—the names of any of the more prominent members of the British cabinet. I am inclined to believe that this is a movement on the part of the great masses of the British people, who realize very fully that their interests are one with those of the people of the United States.

Now, if I may be excused for referring for a moment to my own personal history, I think I can show that, from the various circumstances in which I have been placed, I am in a rather peculiarly favorable position to know something about the wants and feelings of the laboring classes in England. Born and brought up in one of the great manufacturing centres of industry of the north of England; living there, with the exception of my school, college, and univer-

sity life, until close upon thirty years of age; and from then down to the present time spending a substantial part of each year in the same place, where my father, a large employer of labor, lived until the close of his active life, and where two of my brothers still live, I may say that I have all my life lived either amongst or in close contact with the laboring classes of the north of England.

Consequently I know what I am talking about when I say that the feeling of the great body of the people in Great Britain is entirely different towards the people of the United States from their feeling towards the people of any other country. I regret to say that I believe the average Englishman might not be unwilling, in the event of certain circumstances arising, to make considerable sacrifices in order to engage in a war with France; but I believe that he would be extremely unwilling to raise a hand, however great the provocation, against this country, which he justly regards as connected with his own by so many ties.

I hope that I have now made it abundantly clear that the feeling in England now is that the next step should come from the United States. I hope I may not be thought discourteous when I say that many of my countrymen believe that Great Britain has gone far enough. Everything therefore depends upon the attitude of the United States. Great Britain is ready, as she has abundantly testified, to coöperate heartily in any feasible scheme which may be proposed by the government of the United States for the practical solution of this question of judicial decision.

On the reading in the House of Representatives of the memorial to which I have referred, Mr. W. J. Coombs, on January 19th last, moved the following resolution:

Whereas, in response to the resolution adopted by Congress on April 4, 1890, the British House of Commons, on June 16, 1893, unanimously affirmed its willingness to coöperate with the government of the United States in settling disputes between the two countries by means of arbitration; therefore

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to take such further steps in the matter, in order to secure the results contemplated in those resolutions, as to him may seem expedient; and to that end, if he deems it necessary or expedient, he is authorized to appoint commissioners to meet an equal number appointed by the government of Great Britain to negotiate a treaty to accomplish the purposes of said resolutions.

This resolution, together with the memorial, was referred to the committee on foreign affairs, and there, I believe, it has since remained, and I think it is very important that the people and press of this country should use their influence

to urge suitable action on the part of the President and, if necessary, on the part of Congress at the earliest possible opportunity.

In England at the present time, out of every twenty shillings collected in the shape of imperial taxation, something like sixteen shillings and sixpence goes towards the expense of armaments, past and present; while only something like three shillings and sixpence goes towards the support of the various objects of a non-warlike character that press for constant attention. When I went, some two or three years ago, to the library of the British Museum, to look up some topic of special interest in the field of comparative jurisprudence, I found that the books published in France and Germany, and even some published in England, during the last three or four years had not been purchased. On inquiry I was told that the government had found it necessary to cut down by £10,000, or nearly \$50,000, the grant made every year to the library of the Museum. In fact, it is not too strong an expression to say that the present condition of things in France, Germany, and even in England is only one degree better than that of actual war. Italy is already practically bankrupt; Russia, there is reason to fear, is not far from it.

While I hope that we may earnestly strive towards the establishment of a permanent tribunal, consisting of representatives of *all* the great civilized powers, as an ideal to be steadily looked to and striven towards, yet most assuredly we ought now to do that which is present to our hands. It has taken much hard and laborious work for many years to bring the British people to the point at which they now are, and this is the point where rests, for the present at any rate, the solution of this question. If the offer which Great Britain has made to the United States be not accepted, if it be even left over indefinitely, the cause of international arbitration may receive a setback from which it will take a very great number of years to recover. If, on the other hand, we can bring this matter to a satisfactory conclusion between these two great countries, the cause of international arbitration will have taken a great step onwards.

Not only have we, as Dr. Austin Abbott has shown, the precedent of the supreme court of the United States administering many widely differing systems of law, but also in England we have that of the judicial committee of the privy council which tries cases involving even more widely differing systems of law than those which exist within the con-

finer of the United States. To-day the judicial committee of the privy council may be engaged with an appeal from Lower Canada, based entirely on French Law; to-morrow it may be engaged with the construction of an English statute, or with the application of the equitable principles laid down by the court of chancery; the next day with an ecclesiastical appeal from an English court; and the day following with an appeal from the furthest removed British colony on the face of the globe. With such precedents English and American lawyers can surely try all cases that can possibly arise between two nations which have, to a very large extent, the same system of common law, and whose jurists are on terms of constant association and consultation with one another.

Each of the three obstacles referred to by Dr. Abbott under the heads of love of contention, material interests, and the large degree of approbation given by society to the war system, applies with tenfold force in a country like Great Britain. The latter point is one which it is almost impossible to overestimate. Owing to the union between the Anglican church and the state, the pulpit in England is not a force against war; rather I should say, great as its service is in many ways, the pulpit of the Anglican church is almost without exception the friend and the ally of war. The best and most devoted Anglican clergymen are found blessing colors, and in other ways lending the sanction of their consecrated office to a system closely associated with the state.

I feel that it is of the greatest importance that something should be done *now* in this matter. From the close contact that I have with my native land, I feel that the like opportunity may never occur again. And I can conceive of no nobler work than to take any step, however small, to bring together these two countries, which are being every day knit more closely together. I can conceive of no higher or more sacred duty, no higher blessing, for any man or any woman, than to take a share in cementing that union, which—broken for a time by circumstances which we all regret, by circumstances for which each was partly to blame—every day and every hour tends to make more permanent, and to bind together in a tie never again to be broken as long as this world lasts. To use his or her influence, however small, towards the attainment of this end ought to be the object of every man or woman who desires to hasten the time when "war shall be no more."

THE PEOPLE'S LAMPS.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

PART I. ELECTRIC LIGHT (*Continued*).

§2. *The Remarkable Economies Effected by Public Ownership* attract the attention of the investigator even more emphatically than the chaotic condition of private charges. Look at the facts.

TABLE X.

Cost per lamp per year before and after public ownership, the "after" service being the same as or better than the service it replaced.

	Before.	After.
Bangor, Me.	\$150	\$48
Lewiston, Me.	182	55
Peabody, Mass.	185	62
Bay City, Mich.	110	58
Huntington, Ind.	146	50
Goshen, Ind.	156	77
Bloomington, Ill.	111	51
Chicago, Ill.	250	96*
Elgin, Ill.	266	43
Aurora, Ill.	326	70
Fairfield, Ia.	378	70
Marshalltown, Ia.	125	27
Jacksonville, Fla.	24	5

Look well at these marvellous facts, — a difference sometimes of five-sixths between the two payments, before and after; in one case, more than five-sixths; in two cases, more than four-

* The statements of Table X rest upon official reports and returns of municipal officers. The figures of the "after" column represent the cost per lamp per year as ascertained in the first two or three years after public ownership began, except where subsequent years show a higher cost than the early years, in which case the said higher yearly cost has been taken. As a rule the cost in later years is less than the cost in the first years of public ownership; for example the present cost per lamp per year in Bangor is only \$34, in Lewiston \$43, in Bay City \$46, etc. The case of Chicago is peculiar. The public plant was started in 1887. Census bulletin 100 places the cost in Chicago at \$68 per lamp, but this is the average rate for all the electric lamps, rented as well as public, and of all candle powers. Professor Ely's "Problems of To-day," third edition, in an appendix written in 1890, puts the cost in Chicago at \$55. In 1893 and 1894, the department reports make the cost \$36. Mr. Foster, Prof. Meyers, and M. J. Francisco make the cost much higher, but as we shall see hereafter, their methods of calculation will not bear examination either in the light of reason or

fifths; in five cases over three-fourths; in eight cases over two-thirds; and more than one-half in every case but one. The detailed analyses set forth in § 3 of this report show that the "After" column correctly represents the total cost of production, operation, depreciation, insurance, everything but taxes,

authority, and give results totally at variance with the experience of electric light plants, private as well as public. Chief Walker of Philadelphia has just come from a visit to Chicago, and he informs me that Professor Barrett told him they were running the lamps now at a cost of \$79 a year, and the chief added that \$85 or \$90 a year ought to cover interest, depreciation, and all, even in the Chicago plant, which is a very costly one—the wires being underground, and only a little more than half the capacity in use. The following letter from Prof. Edward W. Bemis tells the true story of Chicago's light plant.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, May 29, 1895.

Dear Prof. Parsons: The public-owned Chicago electric-light plant works under a great disadvantage from not being able to secure from the legislature a permit to sell commercial light. Therefore it has only one lamp for each 500 feet of wire. A mile of wire dissipates as much energy as a 2,000 candle-power light. The men are only worked eight hours, are paid \$2 a day and two shifts are employed, while the private plant works one shift and pays less—\$35 to \$50 a month. The private company lights 56 lamps for \$137 each, in the district where wires have to be buried, and by a new contract 230 lamps at \$105 a year each in other parts of the city. The cost of the city-owned lights, nearly all of which are in the district where wires have to be buried, is about \$96, and would be much less if the plant could be fully utilized. This includes, Chief Barrett claims, such full yearly repairs and improvements as to cover all depreciation, but not interest. The private company agrees to light the few street lamps it has charge of, at a reasonable figure in order to secure the chance to do commercial lighting at one cent an hour per 16 candle-power-light, *over four times* what the chief of the public-owned works says the city plant could do for.

As to political influences, Mr. Frank Barrett has been in charge of the electrical work of the city for thirty-three years, and his assistant, Mr. D. M. Hyland, has served the city twenty-one years, while the experts in charge of each of the four city stations keep their places in all administrative changes. The common labor has been changed with each new mayor, but the city by 45,000 majority has just adopted rigid civil service rules for every class of employees. The people of Chicago, afraid of the bugbear of socialism or ignorant of the vast superiority for commercial lighting of the city plant, whose possibilities seem never to be adequately written up in the papers, are asleep, while corporate influence prevents the securing of a permit for commercial lighting. Very heartily,

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

Referring to Chief Barrett's report for 1894, p. 164, we find that the labor cost per lamp was \$52.60. If the public plant had treated its labor in the fashion followed by the private companies—if it had employed one shift at \$35 to \$50 a month instead of two shifts with short hours at \$2 a day—the labor cost per lamp would have been but \$17.50 and the total cost per lamp per year \$61. That is really the figure we are entitled to put in the after column of Table X for the Chicago rate under public ownership. The city receives two services from its public light plant—the production of light, and the lifting of labor. The former alone (which is all it received for the \$250 it used to pay the private companies) now costs it \$61. If it abandoned the other service and put labor back on the private enterprise level, it could get its light for \$61 a lamp; wherefore the other \$35 (of the \$96 total) is not really paid for light, but for the elevation of labor. For \$61 a lamp Chicago gets the light without the lifting of labor—the same service for which it used to pay the private companies \$250 a lamp and with all the reducing effect of growing public ownership, still pays \$137 a lamp; while St. Louis, with no public plant in its borders, obtains the same lamp for \$75 a year. This, and the refusal to let Chicago's plant sell light to the citizens, and the changes of labor in the public works, are due to political causes. Labor should be steady, the plant should be operated to its full capacity, and the public system should be greatly extended. There are 18,500 arcs and 433,400 incandescent lamps in Chicago and the city plant runs but 1110 lamps,—small plant, run half capacity, no day load, only night load for street lamps, and superintendent's control of labor hampered by politics. Like nearly every public interest in Chicago, the light plant has been rendered comparatively inefficient by the demoralizing influence of a corrupt government; and yet it has cut the cost of arc lamps down to one-fourth of what it used to be, and is able to reduce the price of incandescents to one-fourth of the present rates.

It is to be hoped that the recent powerful awakening of civic patriotism, and the triumph of the reform element in Chicago may remove the political fetters from the managers of her public business, and permit them to make a record worthy of their ability, and of the city's reputation for enterprise and capacity. It is to be carefully noted that the fact that Chicago does not manage her light plant as well as many

which amount on the average to only \$2 a lamp, and are more than offset in many cases by the superiority of the public service over that formerly obtained from the private companies. For example, the Fairfield lamps used to run to midnight on the moon schedule, now they run *all* night on the moon schedule; so Lewiston's lamps ran only to midnight before public ownership, afterwards they ran all night and every night.

Imagine a city, one year paying a private company \$200 or \$300 for a street lamp, and the next year making the light itself at a total cost of from \$40 to \$70. Is it not an object-lesson of most wonderful power? The tax-payers of the world will not fail to see its force.

Those who oppose public ownership complain that the reports of municipal plants do not pay proper attention to fixed charges—interest, taxes, depreciation, and insurance. It is quite true that these matters, except the last, receive little or no explicit attention in most municipal reports; it does not follow, however, that the results set forth in the said reports fall short of the truth. The returns from public plants set down in the "After" column of Table X, include not only the cost of maintenance and operation, strictly so-called, but insurance (wherever the municipality thinks it best to insure, as most of the towns and smaller cities do) and also the cost of labor and materials used in making many little extensions and improvements, which really belong in the investment account, and which, together with the replacement of new for old, incident to ordinary repairs, more than balances the depreciation of machinery, buildings, poles, etc. (See § 3, for the proof of this.) The taxes lost by making the enterprise a public one amount to very little—not more than \$2 a year per standard arc on the average (see § 3)—an item that, as we have said, is more than balanced in many of the cities of Table X by the superiority of the public service over that formerly received from private companies.

Interest is the sole remaining item of the complaint, and with public ownership, interest is not an element of the cost of production. If the public plant is free of debt, no interest is paid. If the council should say, "The lamps cost \$50 an arc for running expenses, and \$10 more for interest, so we must levy \$60 an arc on the tax-payers," the result would be the same—the \$50 would be disbursed on account of electric lights, and the \$10 would go back into the pockets of the people, and the effect would be the same as if no interest were calculated on electric light. It is one of the

other cities, is not an argument against public ownership of electric light, any more than the fact that she does not manage her streets as well as many other cities is an argument against public ownership of streets—it is an argument for good government in Chicago in each case. The fact that a certain married man does not act as well as other married men because he is under the influence of an evil woman, is no argument against marriage *per se*, nor even against that particular marriage, for maybe he was a great deal more under the evil influence before he was married than after. That is the case with Chicago—compared with herself, before and after, she makes a good showing for public ownership. Whether with private ownership or public, she is worse off than most other cities under the same system. But she is better off with public ownership than she was with private. Her record with public ownership is not as good as it ought to be, but it is far better than her record with private ownership of corporations and monopolies.

It may be well to state here that all the plants of Table X confine themselves to street lighting, except the Peabody and Jacksonville plants. In Peabody the superintendent is able to separate with satisfactory accuracy, the cost of the street lamps from the cost of commercial lighting. In Jacksonville, the lamps are incandescent. The private company has been charging \$24 a year for all-night service. The public plant, which has just been built, offers to supply the same service at \$9, and the cost of operation is estimated at less than \$5 a year. The commissioners have carefully studied the workings of municipal plants, and are confident of a good profit at the prices they advertise. The plant does not aim to be entirely coöperative—it is coöperative in respect to the street lamps, but expects a profit from commercial lighting. This expectation of the commissioners is fully confirmed by the tables in the next section of this report. All the plants of Table X except that of Jacksonville, have been a considerable time in operation, and the figures given are the results of actual experience on the spot. Most places that possess municipal plants did not have any electric light until the public plant was built. If it had not been for this circumstance, Table X would be much longer than it is. It is long enough, however, to tell its story pretty effectively.

advantages of public ownership that *the people* get the interest and profits, so that in effect they get the service free of interest or profit charges; instead of paying interest and profits to somebody else, who retains them, the people pay interest and profits to themselves (if any such formal payments are made at all), which is equivalent to paying no interest or profit. In estimating the fair selling price of light under ordinary competitive conditions a reasonable interest ought to be added, but on entering the domain of public enterprise, free of debt, we leave interest behind. If all the means of production were held in common, there would be no such thing as interest at all. The cost of production in a public enterprise is simply the cost of operation as above, *plus* a pro-rata contribution to the maintenance of order and government, which is the equivalent of present taxation; the entire product, beyond this is profit. Interest is money paid for the use of capital, and when the producer works with his own capital, all he pays for the use of it is the cost of keeping it in repair, which, in the case we are considering, is included in the expenses of operation. It is evident that there is a good foundation for refusing to allow the introduction of an interest charge among the items of expense in a municipal plant free of debt. It will not do to say that the town might have put its money out at interest instead of building an electric-light plant; if it had, it would simply have received \$10 interest with one hand, and paid out \$10 interest with the other to a private electric-light company, and have been, in respect to interest, precisely where it is now, with an investment on which no interest is figured. Moreover, in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred, the municipality would never have been able to invest such money at interest—would never have had the money to invest—except for the movement toward public operation of city franchises. The common people are just so much ahead every time a municipal enterprise is started; it is just that much more property than they would otherwise be able to accumulate.

Public ownership does not involve the payment of interest by the people, it relieves them from the payment of interest. In the process of attaining public ownership, interest may have to be paid if money is borrowed to build or purchase the plant; but such interest is no part of the cost of producing light under public ownership, it is only a part of the cost of the change to public ownership; the moment the change is complete, and full public ownership really exists, interest ceases.

The ownership of a municipal plant is supposed to be in the people, although the plant may be in debt. In respect to control and other very important attributes of ownership, this is true, but in respect to the attribute of free use without tribute, it is not true; the creditor is in substance a part-owner, and public ownership is not perfected until the title is clear of debt.

The whole matter may be made very clear, I think, in this way. The total cost of production during a given time is the entire amount expended in investment and operating expense, minus the remainder values on hand at the end of said time. If the plant is worth as much at the end of the year as at the beginning, the actual expenditures during the year constitute the cost of production. If the plant is worth \$1,000 less in productive value at the end of the year than at the beginning, \$1,000 of the original investment has been ground up into product, and not replaced or balanced, so that the cost of the year's product is the year's expenditure, plus \$1,000. If the labor and material put into the plant not only balance the depreciation, but make the plant worth \$1,000 more at the end of the year than at the beginning, the cost of production during the year is the year's expenditure minus the \$1,000 which did not go into the product, but into investment, and is still on hand. The application of these principles will evidently give the true cost of production, and clearly there is no place for interest in these calculations, when the plant is free of debt. Actual current expenses for operation, insurance, and safety, plus the portion of the investment that has gone into the product, which is another way of saying depreciation—that formula covers the whole cost. The application of the said principles is a very simple matter, when once we know the probable life of the capital invested, or, in other words, the rate of depreciation. In respect to about six-sevenths of the investment, we can determine this rate with a high degree of certainty, and in respect to the other one-seventh, the rate is determinable within limits which reduce the possible error per standard arc to about \$4 a year. The evidence of this will be given in § 3. It is sufficient now to disclose the principle of our calculations, so that the reader may see that they cover all the elements of the case.

Some of those who criticize municipal officers for not adding taxes, interest, etc., declare that if due allowance were made for fixed charges, the results would show that the people pay more for their lamps under public ownership than under private. It needs but a moment to see that even at the most extravagant rates, interest, taxes, etc., could never fill the gap between the two columns of figures in Table X. The investment per lamp in Bangor is \$160; even if we allow 15 per cent for interest, taxes, and depreciation (which is more than is claimed by Mr. Foster, the strongest writer among those who oppose public ownership)—even at 15 per cent, the fixed charges in Bangor would be but \$24 a lamp, making a total below \$72, and leaving still a saving of more than half. In Peabody the investment is \$177 per lamp; making a total cost of \$80 a lamp if we add 15 per cent for fixed charges; and still more than half the old cost would be saved. In Aurora, the investment per lamp is \$250; 15 per cent is \$38, making a total cost of \$96 per lamp against \$326—seven-tenths of the former cost saved, even admitting the largest claims in respect to fixed charges. So we might go through the whole list (as the student may do for himself with the data respecting

investment tabled later in this report), and we should find everywhere the truth which these few illustrations taken at random abundantly prove, viz., that it is an error to suppose that any fixed charges, even at the highest claimable figure, can fill the space between public cost and private charges.

It may be said that private companies no longer charge such prices as are recorded in Table X. This is happily true in some cases, and one of the reasons is that the movement toward public ownership has compelled a reduction. When a city builds a municipal plant, it usually accomplishes not only a great saving in its own expenses, but a considerable saving also in the expenses of the neighboring towns and cities whose companies are not sufficiently intrenched to be beyond fearing the effects of too great a contrast. In some parts of the country the tremendous fall of prices in the vicinity of public plants is almost as striking as the saving effect in the public plant itself. The increasing cheapness of the means of production has been in part the cause of lower prices, but the success of municipal ownership has also been a powerful factor in the fall. These considerations do not apply to Jacksonville, where the figures express the public and private cost of an all-night incandescent 16 candle-power lamp in 1896; nor to Peabody, where the comparison is of 1892 and 1893; nor to seven of the other cities, whose former payments to private companies are paralleled in a multitude of places to-day. Even in respect to the four cities whose former payments were larger than those now demanded by private electric companies, the fact does not weaken the contrasts set forth in Table X, for it is not a comparison of the charges of private companies at some early date with the cost of municipal production at a much later date, but a comparison of payments to private companies immediately before the change to public ownership, with the cost of municipal production immediately afterward, or as soon afterward as the said cost could be definitely ascertained. A leap from a balloon 300 feet above the ground is none the less a tremendous and most interesting and instructive descent because the gentleman in the balloon afterward brings it nearer the earth, in the hope thereby to appease the longings manifested by his passengers for the solid earth.

The gap between private prices and public costs is partly due to the economies of well-managed public enterprise, partly to the uncertainties of a new business, which are now, however, reduced to a comparatively narrow margin, and partly to the rapacity of powerful private monopolies. The latter generally operates most strongly in the larger cities. In many of the smaller places, as we saw in § 1, the private charges are not unreasonable, but at the best, a private company cannot afford to work at the rates which will sustain a public plant. Even Mr. Foster, in speaking of the forty-nine municipalities whose public electric-light works he studied, declares that "more than half the number are places where it is very doubtful if a private plant could be made to pay under any circumstances." A municipal plant requires no dividends.*

Here are some interesting contrasts in the style of § 1, except that these are comparisons of public ownership with private instead of the former comparisons of one private plant with another.

TABLE XI.

The italicized cities are served by private companies; the others have plants of their own.

Group A. Cost of Standard Arcs, 2,000 candle-power, all night, every night.

Bangor, Me. \$34 (46)

Lewiston, Me. \$43 (52)

Boston \$139

* See other reasons for municipal success stated in comments on Table XI., p. 383.

Dunkirk, N. Y. \$46 (59)	West Troy \$61 (75)
<i>New York</i> \$150	
Allegheny \$64 (73)	Easton \$85
<i>Philadelphia</i> \$160	

Group B. Cost of Sub-Arcs, 1,200 candle-power, all night, every night.

<i>Cambridge, Mass.</i> \$115	<i>Brooklyn</i> \$146
Peabody, Mass. \$62 (70)	South Norwalk, Conn. \$47 (59)

In this table the unbracketed figures following the names of cities having public plants, denote the total cost of production per standard arc, including depreciation, insurance, and all the elements of the said cost, as above explained. The bracketed figures represent the cost of production, plus taxes and interest at four per cent on the investment; these figures serve to show about what the cost would be to a city borrowing its capital. Anyone who still believes that interest must always be added to find the cost of municipal production may use the bracketed figures for all comparisons; he will find the results only a trifle less surprising than when the real cost is used as the basis of comparison. The committee feels like asking its own pardon for supposing that any one *can* hold the belief just referred to after the convincing argument it has just made to the contrary in the preceding pages of this report. It might also be well to ask the pardon of your honorable bodies for entertaining a suspicion that any one of you may be so dull or so prejudiced as not to be convinced by the said argument, if, indeed, you needed conviction on the subject at all. The committee hastens to excuse itself on the ground that its report may possibly be read by persons in other parts of the country where the people are not so intelligent as within your borders, nor so free from that density of ideas and impenetrability of prejudice which formerly possessed the human race, and enabled it to give a welcome to new and unfamiliar thoughts somewhat similar to the welcome Corbett gives a rival in the ring or that which Napoleon used to give the Austrians when they introduced themselves to him in Italy, during the Mantua and Rivoli campaign.

It may be worth while to dwell a moment on some of the contrasts of Table XI. Boston pays four times as much per standard arc as Bangor. As compared with Bangor, Boston is at a disadvantage in the cost of power, but has a better volume and distribution of output, so that there ought to be very little difference in the cost of the service in the two cities, the probability being that it should be lower in Boston. Similar remarks apply to Lewiston, which has a still smaller plant than Bangor—100 and 150 arcs respectively.

Turn to Dunkirk and New York. Both use 480-watt lamps burning all night, every night. In both the motive power is steam; coal is \$2 a ton in Dunkirk, \$3 in New York, a difference of \$5 per arc in favor of Dunkirk. But this is more than overcome by the volume and density of business in New York. The Dunkirk plant is confined to the business of lighting seventy-five street arcs, while the New York plants run 2,625 street arcs and an enormous commercial system that gives them a heavy load all day as well as all night. If New York owned her electric system, and managed it with honest efficiency, she would get her light for less than the Dunkirk cost. A few miles north of Dunkirk the heedless city of Buffalo still pays \$127 $\frac{3}{4}$ an arc, although her coal is as cheap as Dunkirk's, and the volume and density of business are vastly greater.—West Troy

has to pay \$3.25 a ton for her coal, and runs her lamps extra hours. The figures given are from a report made in 1894. A letter to me dated April 30, 1895, gives 115 arcs of 2,000 candle-power, burning fifteen hours out of each twenty-four, at a cost of about nineteen cents a day, which would indicate about \$55 to \$58 for the ordinary all-night arc.

The Allegheny plant lights 3,000 incandescents in the public buildings as well as the 620 standard street arcs, so that the cost of the latter cannot be ascertained with entire precision. The superintendent estimates that the street arcs cost twenty cents a night, or \$73 a year, including interest, which would give \$64 for the cost of production. The coal used in the Allegheny plant is 95-cent slack, while Philadelphia plants use pea coal at \$2.75 a ton. With coal of the same quality, and plants of the same size and build, this difference of price would mean \$9 difference in the cost per arc. But the pea coal is superior, and the cost of fuel per lamp per year is not very different in the two cities, \$15 in Philadelphia and over \$10 in Allegheny. Even if we add the whole \$5, and take no account of factors tending to reduce the cost in the city of Brotherly Love, we still find Philadelphia paying twice as much for her light as she would if she had a public plant as well managed as that of Allegheny.

Easton reports a steam street plant with 122 standard arcs, at \$85 a lamp — coal \$3 a ton. The plant is in debt, but upon the report sent to me it is not clear whether the \$85 includes interest or not. If not, it is one of the least economical of all public plants, and yet it produces light at little more than half what Philadelphia pays — less than half, all things considered, for the \$160 is only the payment made to the electric companies, and does not include the expense of maintaining the city bureau of lighting, a part of whose duty it is to inspect the lamps, and watch the electric companies, to see that they fulfil their agreements, and to make the usual payments, and the customary annual reports; whatever share of the cost of maintaining the bureau of lighting is fairly attributable to the electric lamps, must be added to the amount paid the private companies. This is true also in Boston, New York, and Brooklyn. It is only one more illustration of the fact that competitive industry requires one man to do the work, and another one to watch him. In the public plants of Table XI, and in every well regulated public enterprise, there is but one charge for superintendence; the head of the electric works inspects the lamps, looks out for the interests of the city, and makes the reports, which is much more efficient than the Philadelphia plan, as well as more economical, because if anything goes wrong, the inspector is not confined to an impotent complaint, often disregarded with impunity, but

has the power to *command* the immediate correction of the trouble.

To return to the table. Group B contrasts a few places that use the sub-arc. For 151 lamps of 1,200 c. p. burning an average of 9.65 hours a night, Peabody pays \$62 per lamp per year—\$70 including interest on the electric debt, the plant not being yet owned clear by the people.* For the same service, Cambridge, an inoffensive village thirteen miles south of Peabody, is compelled to pay \$115, or \$45 more per lamp, although the advantages of production are strongly with Cambridge. Brooklyn, with still greater advantages, was reported last year as paying \$182½, and is reported now (May 16, 1895) as paying \$146 for the same lamp, burned the same number of hours. Forty miles northeast of Brooklyn is the town of South Norwalk, with a little municipal steam electric-lighting plant, running 98 street arcs. The dynamos are provided with switches, which enable the engineer to burn the lamps at 1,200, 1,600, or 2,000 candle-power—the average for the year being 1,400 c. p. As the lamps are run till 1.30 or 2 o'clock on the "Philadelphia schedule," they are substantially comparable to all-night arcs of 1,200 candle-power. The capital in the plant is not yet owned by the people, and the 4 per cent interest on bonds brings the total cost per lamp up to \$59 a year; the cost per lamp, including depreciation and everything but interest, is \$47 a year, which represents the entire cost of production under complete municipal ownership—a cost that is less than one-third of the total expense in Brooklyn.

In Table XI we used only the records of places close to the cities in whose behalf we are specially writing, because a comparison near home is most effective; but when we come to take a look at the whole country in § 3 we shall find many other examples of economy through public ownership, quite as marked as those we have mentioned. For example, La Salle, Ill., has a little steam street plant, making arcs at the rate of ten cents a night. It uses slack at 75 cents a ton, and runs 98 full arcs all night on moon schedule, at a total cost—deprecia-

*Danvers, which is close to Peabody, and also has a public plant, obtains results very nearly like those of its neighbor—bare operating expenses \$46 a lamp, total cost \$70. Its 78 lamps run only to midnight. Braintree, a few miles south of Boston, possesses a steam plant, running 118 arcs of 1,200 c. p. all night on the moon schedule at a cost of \$47.55 per lamp for operation including insurance, and \$69.65 including 4 per cent interest and 5 per cent depreciation on the whole cost of the plant. Pittsfield, Mass., pays a private company \$100 per light for the same lamp run on the same schedule; and Milford, Mass., pays \$100 for the same sort of lamp run only till 11 P. M. Thomas A. Watson, superintendent of the Braintree plant, tells us in his report for 1894, p. 136, that "The price charged other towns in Massachusetts by private companies for 1,200 c. p. arc lamps run as ours are run, averages \$95.38. The cost to the town from its own plant shows a saving of \$25.73 per light, or \$3,036.14 on all lights in use, which amount, if placed in a sinking fund each year at 4 per cent interest, is sufficient to pay the whole cost of the plant in less than ten years."

tion, interest, and all — of about \$40 a lamp. Before the public plant was built, the city paid \$112 per arc till midnight, on the moon schedule. Marshalltown, Ia., has a steam street plant, using coal at \$1.40 a ton, and running 64 full arcs an average of six hours per night at an operating cost of \$19 per lamp per year and a total cost of \$27 per lamp, instead of \$125 as formerly, etc.

The question naturally arises, "How is it that public plants are able to make such tremendous savings?" The reasons are many; here are some of them:

1. A public plant does not have to pay dividends on watered stock.
2. It does not have to pay dividends even on the actual investment.
3. It does not have to retain lawyers or lobbyists, or provide for the entertainment of councilmen, or subscribe to campaign funds, or bear the expenses of pushing the nomination and election of men to protect its interests or give it new privileges, or pay blackmail to ward off the raids of cunning legislators and officials, or buy up its rivals, etc.
4. It does not have to advertise nor solicit business.
5. It is able to save a great deal by combination with other departments of public service. The mayor of Dunkirk says: "Our city owns its water plant, and the great saving comes from the city's owning and operating both plants. No extra labor is required but a lineman. The same engineers, firemen, and superintendent operate both plants, and the same boiler power is used." So in Bangor, Marshalltown, and a number of other places, the municipal lighting system is run in connection with the public water plant. In La Salle the fire, water, and light departments are consolidated. A great saving in the cost of labor and superintendence results. The larger the coöperation under a single skilful management, the greater the economy and efficiency, other things being equal. The plants in Allegheny, Easton, West Troy, South Norwalk, Peabody, Danvers, and Braintree do not have this advantage of combination.*
6. Public ownership has no interest to pay. Even if the people do not own the capital, but borrow it, they can get the money at much lower rates of interest than private companies have to pay. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia can borrow at three per cent — have borrowed many millions at that rate. Dunkirk borrows at the same rate; Allegheny pays three and one-half per cent when she borrows; Easton, West Troy, South Norwalk, Peabody, Braintree, etc., four per cent. Few places have to pay over five per cent. There is no debt on the Dunkirk, Allegheny, or West Troy plants, but these are the rates those cities pay when they borrow. As a rule private companies are obliged to pay from two to four per cent more than the municipality in which they are located. The Boston Electric Light Company reports its interest payments at six per cent — three per cent higher than the rate at which the city can borrow. The average interest paid on borrowed money by the private companies in Massachusetts is between seven and eight per cent, while the average at which the towns and cities of the state are able to borrow is between four and five per cent.

In view of these considerations we cannot expect the private companies to furnish light as cheaply as the municipal plants. Under similar conditions of production they could not even come down to the bracketed figures of Table XI without forfeiting their profits. A consolidated public plant can produce light at a lower cost than is possible to a private company with equal efficiency of management, equally good construction, and an equal volume of business. These qualifications must never be

* The South Norwalk plant is combined with the fire alarm, but as the total cost of the latter is \$300 a year, it is practically nothing as far as concerns its power to bring into operation the law of economy by consolidation.

lost sight of, for in them lies the explanation of some mysterious variations in the cost of production both in private and municipal plants. The few cases in which municipal operation is not as successful as it should be, are due to bad management or poor construction or both. The management may be bad because it is hampered by politics, or because the manager himself is not the trained electrician and practical business man he ought to be. Cities are more liable to this kind of error than private companies, though the owners of the latter not infrequently place some favorite or relative in command with little regard for his fitness or ability. The excellent results of public electric plants show that, on the whole, their management has been very good, but there can be no doubt that if civil-service principles were firmly established, and all appointments were permanent and were made on grounds of merit and ability alone, the results would be still better than they are.

Cheap construction is very poor policy. It pays, in the long run, to buy the best engines and dynamos, and build the whole system with solidity and care. It does not appear that public works have suffered more than private from inferior construction. The associations of private electric companies that meet each year are doing much toward making such errors impossible in the future, and for the development of better methods of production. It might be well for the managers of municipal plants to form an association also, and meet every year to exchange ideas. It is certain that the formation of a National Coöperative Supply Company to furnish materials at cost to all municipal plants would still further reduce the cost of light in public systems.

The third qualification above mentioned, the one that relates to the volume of business, is scarcely less important than the others. Very many municipal plants are simply street plants; that is, they do not light stores or residences, or sell any light at all to the citizens, but are confined to providing light for the streets. It is a great mistake to limit a public plant in this way. If it is allowed to do commercial lighting as well as street lighting, the volume and density of its business is largely increased; it has a day load as well as a night load, and the cost of production per lamp is materially reduced. The truth is that there should be but one electric system in any town or city, and that should be a municipal system consolidated with the fire department, water works, gas works, and street-car lines, and should supply light, heat, and power to all the citizens at or near cost, as well as illuminating the streets and public buildings. In many places substantially such a system is already a realized fact, and we will now proceed to examine the results.

With the single exception of Peabody, none of the public plants in Table XI supply commercial lights, a disadvantage which makes their returns all the more wonderful when compared with the prices of the private companies of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, with their enormous commerce.

Here are some public plants that sell light as well as provide for the streets.*

TABLE XII.—COMMERCIAL PUBLIC PLANTS.

Group A.

	Yearly cost per street lamp.	
St. Clairsville, O.	\$28	2,000 c. p. average 9 hours a night.
Swanton, Vt.	10	2,000 c. p. all night, moon.
Chehalis, Wash.	8	2,000 c. p. all night, every night.
Indianola, Ia.	7	1,200 c. p. average 6 hours.
Wellston, O.	7	1,200 c. p. " "
Grand Ledge, Mich.	6½	
Madison, N. J.	12	incandescent 30 c. p.
Newark, Del.	4	incandescent

(Grand Ledge is taken from Professor Ely's figures, and Chehalis from Director Beiter's report to the Philadelphia Councils; the rest are from returns made directly to me.)

Group B.

Albany, Mo.	\$0	"Commercial lights pay all expenses" (30 street lamps 1,200 c. p. burned all night).
Batavia, Ill.	0	"Costs nothing—all expenses paid by commercial light" (120 street arcs all night).
Crete, Neb.	0	Commercial lamps more than pay expenses (50 street arcs 1,200 c. p. till midnight).
Council Grove, Kans.	0	"Commercial lamps pay all expenses—operation and interest."
Middleton, Pa.	0	"500 incandescent pay all expenses."
Oxford, O.	0	"1,200 incandescent pay for the street lamps."
St. Peter's, Minn.	0	"Lights cost nothing—1,000 incandescent pay all expenses."

* Some public plants that sell light do so at rates that leave little or no margin above its cost, including interest, so that taxes may not be reduced till the debt is paid off. In other cases the field is so small and the lights required by the citizens are so few, that although there is a margin of profit on the commercial lamps, the total is not large enough to make much of a showing. With a fair volume of business, a moderate profit produces wonderful results, as the table shows. Where there is no debt even a small commerce at very low rates is quite effective in reducing taxes. For example, Kendallville, Ind., owns a steam plant with coal at \$2.55 a ton. It runs 43 standard street arcs and 17 commercial arcs of 2,000 candle-power at \$60 a year each. The result is that the total cost to the taxpayers for street lighting, depreciation, taxes, operation, and all is only \$30 per year per standard arc.

Group C.

	Profit	
Farmville, Va.	\$340	above all expenses, fixed charges, and operating, and giving the city free 25 full arcs averaging 6 hours per night.
Luverne, Minn.	520	above all operating and fixed charges, and 12 street arcs, free, of 2,000 c. p.
Falls City, Neb.	650	above all operating and fixed charges, and 150 street lamps free.
Rockport, Mo.	900	above all operating and fixed charges, and 65 street lamps free.
Alexandria, Minn.		Blends the light and water accounts. The report for the year ending March 1, 1895, puts interest and operating expenses at \$5,896 for the combined departments. The income of the departments, aside from taxes, was \$6,052. At current market rates the street lighting was worth \$1,000, and the fire-plugs \$1,575, so that the total service of the departments is represented by \$8,627, a profit of \$2,731.

Let us examine more closely a few of those splendid facts. St. Clairsville runs its plant at a total cost of \$2,350 (including 5 per cent interest on the whole investment). It sells 600 commercial incandescents, 16 c. p., and its income from them is \$1,300, leaving \$800 as the cost of the thirty 2,000 candle-power street arcs, burning practically all night and every night — \$28 a lamp for substantially the same service that costs New York \$146 to \$182 per lamp, and Philadelphia over \$160 per lamp.

Swanton sells 1,650 incandescents at exceedingly low rates, as we shall see in Table XIII. Its income for light and power is \$3,356, and its expenses are \$3,649, including interest at 5 per cent on the full value of the plant, leaving \$293 for the taxpayers to shoulder as the cost of 24 all-night arcs, 2,000 c. p., and 15 all-night incandescents, 32 c. p., and 2 arcs near the station for which no charge is made — equal in all to about 30 full arcs, at a cost of less than \$10 each — \$10 for nearly the same service that costs Boston \$139 a lamp; exactly the same, except in respect to the moonlight, which makes a difference in cost of about one-sixth; the cost of power makes another difference of one-sixth, so that the Swanton equivalent for Boston is about \$14 per standard arc.

Indianola runs a steam plant at a cost of \$3,900, interest, depreciation, and all, with coal at \$1.25 a ton. Its income, aside from taxes, is \$3,600, leaving \$300 as the cost to the town of 120 32-candle-power lamps, and four 1,200-candle-power lamps, equal to 44 lamps of 1,200 candle-power or 132 lamps of 32 candle-power burning an average of six hours a night. The cost per lamp is therefore \$2.25 per year for a 32 candle-power lamp, and \$7 a year for a lamp of 1,200 candle-power. — Wellston has to pay 5 per cent interest on the whole value of its plant, yet its income from 1,000 incandescent lamps leaves only \$400 as the total cost to the city of 68 street arcs of 1,200 candle-power, averaging 6 hours a night — less than \$7 a year for an arc. Before it owned a public plant, the city paid \$120 per lamp for the same service. — Hudson, Mass., pays \$91 to a private company for a lamp of the same power, burning the same number of hours. Milford and Lynn pay \$100 for the same lamp burning fewer hours. The lowest price charged for such lamps by Massachusetts private companies is \$75 a year. The charges for 32 candle-power lamps burned an average of 4 to 6 hours per night, run from \$15 to \$25, in place of Indianola's \$2.25.

The latest report I have been able to get from Madison only brings the account down to March 31, 1894. The plant then ran 1,777 domestic lamps and 411 street lamps. The net cost per street lamp was \$9 a year, including interest, but depreciation brings it up to \$12. The commercial lighting was rapidly increasing, 840 lamp applications being on file awaiting fulfillment at the date of the report. The business of Newark, Delaware, is also growing fast, and the superintendent thinks that, next year, the commercial business will pay for the street lamps.

The results in Group A are very good, but a zero for the cost of electric street lamps is better still. It means \$800,000 a year saved to the taxpayers in Philadelphia, \$400,000 in New York, \$260,000 in Boston. It is better yet to have a moderate profit from the public lighting system.

In Farmville, the operating cost is \$2,580, the fixed charges are \$600, and the income is \$3,520—a profit of \$340, and 25 full arcs, averaging 6 hours a night, free. At current rates these lamps would cost from \$2,200 to \$3,000, so that the Farmville plant saves at least \$2,500 to the taxpayers every year.—The Luverne plant costs \$2,925 for running expenses, \$392 for depreciation and taxes, \$423 for interest, \$3,740 total. Its income from commercial lighting is \$4,260, leaving \$520 profit, and 12 street arcs, free 2,000 candle-power, burning an average of 5 hours a night, worth, at current rates about \$1,000; wherefore the Luverne light plant saves the taxpayers \$1,500 a year. The Alexandria plant, as we have seen, saves \$2,700 to the taxpayers every year.

And we are only on the threshold yet. Our towns and cities are just beginning to see the virtues of combining commercial lighting with their street work. The business is developing rapidly, and in a few years a city that levies taxes to pay for its street lamps will be regarded as a lingering relic of an embryonic age. In time we may even do as well as Berlin and Paris, which make the city franchises pay eighteen and twenty-two per cent, respectively, of all municipal expenditures. I hope we shall do better; I hope to see the day when public business will pay the whole volume of public expenses.

One more point the committee must make in this section. The transfer of business from private to public plants is a benefit to consumers as well as to those who pay taxes. To a large extent the two classes are one, and a man who buys light for his store or his house, and helps with the street-lighting tax, is doubly benefited by the public plant, once by the diminution of taxes, and once by the cheapening of commercial light.

Braintree, Mass., sells incandescents at 6 mills per meter hour and 3½ to 5 dollars a year. St. Clairsville sells incandescents, 16 candle-power, at two-fifths of a cent a meter hour, or 40 cents a month. Farmville charges 50 cents a month. Swanton, Vt., sells incandescents, 16 candle-power, at 1 to 3 dollars a year, or one-third of a cent an hour by meter, and 2,000 candle-power arcs at \$50 a year. In Boston the citizens have to pay 50 to 90 cents a night, or \$182 to \$328 a year for an arc, and 1 cent per hour by meter, or \$10 a year, for an incandescent 16 candle-power.

Public lighting not only reduces the cost of street lamps one-half, two-halves, or even three-halves, but it lowers the cost of commercial light also about one-half on the average, and, in some cases, a great deal more than that. Here are the facts.

TABLE XIII.—PRICES FOR ELECTRIC LIGHT.

To get the full force of this table one must keep in mind the fact that 1 cent per meter hour, and 20 cents per 1,000 watt hours (or 1,000 watts as they are called for short), are different expressions for the same rate of charge. Nominally the 16 candle-power lamp takes 60 watts, but electricians tell me that 50 watts are all the lamp generally gets, so that 1,000 watt hours will run the lamp 20 hours, and 20 cents per 1,000 watts is the same as 1 cent per hour by meter or clock. In the same way, 10 cents per 1,000 watts and one-half cent an hour are equivalent rates. Companies charging 1 cent an hour, or 20 cents per 1,000 watts, generally charge \$1 a month and \$10 a year for the ordinary service of a 16 c. p. lamp; and plants charging one-half cent per meter hour usually charge about 50 cents a month. The monthly rate usually varies with the location of the lamp in a store, hallway, bedroom, etc., the probable number of hours of lighting being estimated from the location. As the average time of using the lamps varies with the habits of the people in different places, the monthly rates even for lamps in similar locations are not so sure a basis for comparison as the rates per meter hour or per 1,000 watts or per lamp in all-night service.

A. Ordinary Service, 16 candle-power lamp.

PUBLIC PLANTS.

PRIVATE PLANTS.

	Per month	Per meter hour	Per 1,000 watts		Per month	Per meter hour	Per 1,000 watts
Swanton, Vt.	10 to 30c.	1c.	7c.	Boston, Mass.		1c.	
Braintree, Mass.	25 to 45c.	1/2c.		Brookline, Mass.	\$1 to 1.50	1c.	
Peabody, Mass.		1/2c.		Cambridge, Mass.		.85c.	
Westfield, N. Y.	40c.	(1/2c.)		Gardner, Mass.		1 1/2c.	25 to 50c.
				New York City.		1c.	
St. Clairsville, O.	40c.	1/2c.		Brooklyn.		1c.	
Clyde, O.	30 to 50c.			Binghamton.		1c.	
De Graff, O.	40c.*	(1/2c.)		Cincinnati, O.		1/2c.	15c.
Wellston, O.	50c.			Private Cos. Clyde	.75 to \$1		
Shelby, O.	30 to 50c.			neighborhood.		1c.	
Ashtabula, O.	50c.			Quincy, Mass.	\$1	1c.	
Gallon, O.	50c.			Fall River, Mass.	.85c.		20c.
Oxford, O.		1/2c.		Hyde Park, Mass.	\$1	1c.	12c.
				Lowell, Mass.	60c.	1 to 1 1/2c.	
Crawfordsville, Ind.	40c.	1/2c.		Hull, Mass.	\$1 to 1.25		
Peru, Ill.	50c.	(1/2c.)		Lynn, Mass.			
				Logansport, Ind.		1c.	
Tipton, Ia.	50c.			Chicago, Ill.		1c.	
Indianola, Ia.	30 to 50c.			Marseilles, Ill.	40c.		
Chariton, Ia.	40c.			Private Cos. in lo-	75c.		
Atlantic, Ia.		1c.		cality of Tipton	\$1.25	1c.	
Wilson Junc., Ia.	35c.			Chelsea, Mass.	\$1.	1c.	
Fulda, Minn.	25 to 50c.	1/2c.—		Frammingham,		1c.	
Luverne, Minn.	50c.		10c.	Mass.		1c.	
Alexandria, Minn.	65c.		8c.	Bath, Me.			
Sleepy Eye Lake, Minn.				Duluth, Minn.	\$1	1c.	20c.
				Newton, Mass.	\$1.90†		30c.
Falls City, Neb.	50c.		10c.	Charlestown, Mass.			25c.
Schuyler, Neb.	50c.			Wobster, Mass.			18c.
Lyons, Kan.	60c.			Salem, Mass.			27c.
Herrington, Kan.	50c.			Lexington, Mass.			30c.
Hannibal, Mo.	50c.	1/2c.	10c.	Winchendon, Mass.			20c.
Albany, Mo.	28 to 50c.			Omaha, Neb.	\$1.35	1c.	
Shelburne, Mo.	50 to 70c.			Waltham, Mass.			
Savannah, Mo.	35 to 50c.			Topeka, Kan.		1c.	
				Wichita, Kan.		1c.	
Madison, Ga.	50c.			St. Louis, Mo.	\$1	1 1/2c.	
				Springfield, Mo.	50c.	1c.	
Madison, N. J.		1/2c.	10c.	Springfield, Mass.		1c.	
				Little Rock, Ark.		1c.	
Quakertown, Pa.			8c.	Colorado Springs,		1c.	
				Col.			
Newark, Del.	5 to 50c.‡	1/2c.		Leadville, Col.	\$1	1 1/2c.	
Farmville, Va.	50c.		(10c.)	San Jose, Cal.		1 1/2c.	
High Point, N. C.	35c.		7c.	Baton Rouge, La.	50c.		
Jacksonville, Fla.	30c.	1/2c.		New Brunswick,		.8c.	16c.
				N. J.		1/2c.	20c.
				Mount Holly, N. J.			
				Birmingham, Ct.		1/2c.	(15c.)
				Philadelphia, Pa.			15c.
				Harrisburg, Pa.			
				Wilmington, Del.	10c.—\$1 1/2	1/2c.	
				Washington, D. C.			15c.
				Taunton, Mass.	\$1	1c.	
				Beverly, Mass.	\$1		25c.

* De Graff. Two or more lamps, 25c. each. Churches, lodges, etc., 8c.

† Charlestown. Price for each of a group of 8 lamps.

‡ Newark. 50c. 1 lamp; above 15 lamps, 15c. each in stores and 5c. each in houses.

§ Wilmington. \$1 for 1 lamp; 3 or more lamps, 60c. and 80c. each; where used not over 1 hour a day 10c. each.

B. All night-service, 16 c. p.

Public Plants.		Private Companies.	
	Per month.		Per month.
Hannibal, Mo.	75c.	Springfield, Mo.	\$1.50
		St. Louis, "	(2.00)
		Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	2.50
		New York City	(2.00)
		Worcester, Mass.	2.00
		Boston, "	(2.00)
		Franklin, "	1.50
		Bath, Me.	1.25
		Logansport, Ind.	1.50
Herrington, Kan.	75c.	Wichita, Kan.	1.50
		Leadville, Col.	2.50
		San Jose, Cal.	1.50
		Duluth, Minn.	1.75
Peru, Ill.	\$1.00	Chicago, Ill.	(2.00)
		Baton Rouge, La.	2.00
		Anniston, Ala.	1.50
		Wilmington, Del.	1.50
Jacksonville, Fla.	75c.	Jacksonville E. L. Co.	2.00

The figures of Table XIII as to public plants are taken from returns made by municipal officers. As to private companies the rates are taken from returns made by their own officers or from information given by city officials. The rates in parenthesis are estimated.—In Group B the four cities whose charges are in parenthesis have sent me meter rates but no specified all-night rate; the meter rate would give \$3.30 a month for all-night service, but as other cities with the same meter rate make a discount of about 40 per cent for steady all-night service I have allowed the same discount in the cases named. It is quite probable, however, that the large city companies would not make any such discounts except to a customer using a large number of lamps. I have the printed contract forms used in the cities named, and a customer's monthly bill must run up to \$400 or \$500 before he can get 20 per cent discount from the meter rates, let alone 40 per cent. So that small consumers like those who get all-night service at 75c. a month from the public plants would probably have to pay the full meter rates, or \$3.30 per lamp per month, in New York, Chicago, etc. It is unfortunate that more of the public plants do not supply all-night service, or if they supply it do not report their rates for it. Next to the meter rates per hour and per 1,000 watts the all-night rates are the most satisfactory basis of comparison, representing a more definite service than the ordinary monthly rates, which relate to hours of lighting that vary somewhat in different places with the habits of the people. The committee has given all the rates known to it except some in Massachusetts that are mere duplicates of the examples given from that state. Many municipal plants, as I have before remarked, are confined to public lighting, and a number of those that sell light do not report their rates, else Table XIII might have been longer. It is long enough, however, to make it very clear that public plants serve their customers at much lower rates than are usual with private companies.

An examination of Table XIII discloses the fact that, as a rule, the charges of private companies are double, and sometimes threefold, fourfold, fivefold, tenfold the rates in public plants. The ordinary charges in private companies are one cent per hour, 20 cents per 1,000 watts, and \$1 a month for a 16 candle-power lamp; and the prevailing rates in public plants are one-half cent per hour, 10 cents per 1,000 watts, and 50 cents a month for the same lamp. In several instances the public rate is only seven to eight cents per 1,000 watts, while the lowest private rates per 1,000 are 12 cents in Lowell and 15 cents in Cincinnati, Harrisburg, and Washington. In only one instance known to the committee, does the public rate per 1,000 exceed 10 cents—in Atlantic, Ia., the rate is one cent per hour, or 20 cents per 1,000 watts; but private rates more frequently run above than below their ordinary level of 20 cents, being 25, 27, 30, and in one instance 50 cents per 1,000.

The Swanton rate is one-third of a cent per meter hour. The usual private charge is one cent per meter hour, or threefold the Swanton rate. A number of public plants serve light for 30 cents a month, which is less than one-third of the usual private charge, one-quarter the Chelsea charge, and one-fifth the Brookline rate. Charlestown citizens pay \$15 a month for a group of eight lamps 16 candle-power, or \$1.90 per lamp. Newark, Del., asks \$2 a month for a group of ten lamps 16 candle-power, or 20 cents each — a public charge less than one-ninth of the private rate. At the reported rates a group of 32 lamps would cost \$3.85 a month in Newark, and over 10 times that much in Charlestown. The Newark charge of five cents a month for each residence lamp beyond 15 is the lowest known to the committee.

The all-night service tells the same story. The usual public rate is 75 cents a month, while the usual private charge is \$1.50 to \$2 per lamp 16 candle-power. With higher candle-powers similar contrasts exist. St. Clairsville, O., and High Point, N. C., supply a 25 candle-power lamp for 45 and 50 cents a month respectively; while the private company of Northampton, Mass., asks \$1.35 to \$2 a month for a 20 candle-power lamp. The public plant of Westfield, N. Y., sells a 32 candle-power lamp for 70 cents a month; while the Boston company asks \$6 a month for the same candle-power. In respect to arc lights the differences are quite as marked. We have already seen that the citizens of Boston are paying private companies three and a-half to six and a-half times as much per arc as the citizens of Swanton pay for the same service from their public plant. The usual municipal charge per arc is \$50 to \$75 a year, while the citizens of our cities give the private companies \$100 to \$200 per arc under circumstances that ought to make the cost of producing light much less than in most of the public plants; even in the city of Brotherly Love the people pay 45 cents a night or \$164 a year for commercial arcs. The next section is designed to go to the bottom of the arc-lighting question, so we do not need to dwell upon the subject here.

It is abundantly clear that the people of our cities and towns could save at least half the money they pay for electric light by going into the business on their own account. Even in Chicago, though the public service ranks among the three or four most costly in the whole list of public systems — yet even in the heart of Chicago the city plant could save the citizens more than half if it were permitted to sell electric light; such, at least, is the opinion of Professor Barrett, superintendent of the Chicago works (see note to Table X).

It is true that some private companies sell light at very rea-

sonable rates. This serves to show that the companies could give the people cheap light — cheap for competitive enterprise, that is — if they chose to do so. The Wilmington Electric Company, whether through fear that the success of Newark may cause a movement toward public ownership in other Delaware cities, or for some other reason best known to themselves, have made electric rates that are surprisingly low when compared with the charges in other plants, many of them more advantageously situated than itself. It is a steam plant, pays more for coal than Philadelphia or New York, and has not so large a business, yet its rates are much lower than those of Philadelphia companies, and only about half the New York rates for incandescent lighting. Cheap as it is, however, its charges are cut in two by the public plants of its neighbor Newark, twelve miles to the west, a little steam plant paying \$3.15 a ton for coal and with nothing like the advantages of the Wilmington Company in respect to loading or volume and density of business. When we turn from incandescent lamps to arcs, we find the Wilmington Company making up to some extent for its low incandescent rates. It charges the citizens 10 cents an hour for a 1,200 candle-power arc, and the city \$125 a year for a street arc.

It is not to be expected that private companies will sell as cheaply as public; with equal efficiency of management it costs them more to produce light, and they must have interest and profits. A private company is run, not for the benefit of the people, but for the profit of the owners. It is perfectly natural for an electric-light company to make all the money it can; that is no more than is done by the majority of business men and corporations in every line of trade. This committee wishes to make it emphatic beyond the possibility of mistake, that it is no part of its present intention to throw blame on any individual or company whose methods do not involve the corrupt use of money or influence. So far as the ordinary methods of competitive business are concerned, even when highly exorbitant charges result, they are merely the outcome of a strong monopoly in the presence of an ignorant or inert community; and thousands of men all over the country who are good, honest citizens according to the light of the prevailing nineteenth-century ethical standards, would make the very same charges if they owned the same monopoly under the same circumstances. According to the true standards, an exorbitant charge is simply a form of theft; but so long as our boys are brought up to call it "business" and "exchange by the law of supply and demand," and to think it honest, and that money-getting is the end and aim of life, so long will extortion continue. There are men who do business

in a way they know to be immoral — men who would not dare to tell their wives and children the details of their business transactions. Such men are worthy of all contempt; but as to the great majority of men, what we need is not so much a campaign of censure as a campaign of reconstruction. When we have passed from competition to coöperation, and its lofty ethics have taken possession of our souls, the moral element of the community will wonder how the upright Christian business men of this decade could be so confused in thought and feeling as to think it right to take from a brother man 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 20, 100 times the value of what they give, just as we wonder now how a Christian gentleman could ever have held his brothers and his sisters and his children in bondage and sold them at auction like so many horses and cows. A great deal of what is now called "fair exchange" will be classed with robbery, embezzlement, and breach of trust by the standards of the future.

One of the immediate steps toward coöperative industry should be a municipal lighting plant in each of our towns and cities. To the people of Boston and neighboring towns it would mean a saving of nearly half a million in taxes, and a very great benefit to consumers of light besides.

TABLE XIV. — BOSTON AND VICINITY.

	Receipts from taxpayers.	Total Electric income.	Taxes paid by Company.
Boston E. L. Co.	\$217,610	\$540,967	\$21,036
Edison Co. (Boston) . . .		587,514	26,854
Brookline Co.	45,333	70,227	1,576
Cambridge Co.	59,915	103,471	4,191
Charlestown Co.	31,244	40,015	2,163
Chelsea Co.	26,655	38,780	1,376
Newton Co.	25,041	42,348	800
Somerville Co.	49,363	71,686	2,532
Suburban Co.		65,335	762
Total for street lights . .	\$455,161	\$1,560,343	\$61,290
Subtracting taxes paid by street lighting Co.'s we have	\$33,674	Subtracting Edison and Suburban Co.'s taxes	\$27,616
Net cost of street lights . .	\$421,487		\$33,674

The total income of the Boston Electric Light Company is \$540,967, and its charges are one cent per hour for incandescent, and 50 to 90 cents a night for arc lights. The

Edison Company does not light the streets, but has a commerce of \$587,514 a year, and pays \$26,854 taxes. Its charge is one cent per meter hour. The Suburban Company also has no public lighting, but a commerce of \$65,335, pays \$762 taxes, and charges 20 cents per 1,000 watts. The Newton Company and the Somerville Company make the same charge; Charlestown, \$1.90 a month; Cambridge, one cent per hour, with 15 per cent discount for prompt payment, which amounts to .85 cent per hour; Brookline and Chelsea, one cent per hour.

If the people would take these plants or build new ones of their own, and manage them as well as the systems listed in Table XII, they could lower rates 50 per cent, build up the business,* and economize in the cost of production; and in a few years there would be a zero, or perhaps a profit, in place of the \$421,487 our taxpayers pour into the pockets of the electric light companies, and consumers of light would pay less per lamp by a half at least. At the very start the total savings of the people in taxes and light rates would exceed \$800,000 a year. This is what Tables X to XIII predict that Boston could do, and the facts of the following section, disclosing in detail the cost of producing electric light, will be found to confirm the prophecy fully. In Philadelphia and New York the savings would be larger still, and even in St. Louis — I'm no longer afraid to say it, for the facts of this section have proved it — even in St. Louis a municipal plant would save the people \$300,000 a year.

It is all a very simple matter. If the people acquire a business that M now owns, the people will get the profits that M now gets. This plain fact, and the other plain fact that economy comes with coöperation, explain the phenomena of this section. It pays men better to pull together than separately or in opposition to each other, and it pays a man better to own a thing himself than to have somebody else own it. If a thing is worth owning it is better owned by A and B than by B alone, better at least for A.† If B owns the farm or grocery or clothing house, A will pay more for provisions and clothes than if he were partner with B. It is the same with electric light. If A, B, C, etc., are partners with M, O, N, in the electric-light works they will be better treated and get their light at less expense than if M, O, N own the plant by themselves. The more a man owns the better off he is, if he lives an honest life; and the rule holds good of a dozen, a thousand, or a cityful. The sooner we recognize this truth and adopt the policy of extending city

* Confidence, good feeling, cheapened service, and a realization that the profits go into the public treasury, prompt the people to patronize a public institution more freely than a private monopoly, a fact so prominent as to cause especial comment by the census department (see Bulletin 100, eleventh census).

† There are things, of course, that it is best to have some one else own — a corn, for example, or a taste for strong drink, or too high an idea of oneself, or the undue affection of another man's wife, or money or goods unjustly obtained. But when property is honestly come by and is of a nature that it may justly be held in partnership, as is the case with material means of production generally, then it is true as a rule in respect to men of ordinary common sense and character that it is better for A to be co-owner with B than to have B the sole owner.

ownership — enriching the “common” people by returning to them the lands and franchises that have been given away by their corrupt or foolish agents — the sooner we shall be well started on the road that leads where poverty of honest toil and willing industry will be unknown forever.

(To be continued.)

THE AUGUST PRESENT.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

"Life is a mission." — *Mazzini*.

"To-day is a king in disguise." — *Emerson*.

"The golden age is before, not behind." — *Charles Sumner*.

"To live is to have justice, truth, reason, devotion, probity, sincerity, common sense, right, and duty welded into the heart. To live is to know what one is worth — what one can do, and should do. Life is conscience." — *Victor Hugo*.

The present is big with possibilities for the human race. Every man, woman, and child with convictions can be real factors in the march of progress. The opportunities afforded to-day come only to those who live in transition eras, in periods of widespread and profound unrest. To those who desire to help the world onward, but who are chafing under the limitations which hedge them round about, I would say: your opportunities to-day for leaving a lasting impression on civilization are far greater than those enjoyed by men and women who have occupied more commanding positions in ages marked by contentment, or in periods when sullen hopelessness rankled in the hearts of earth's millions. And this brings me to the point I wish to emphasize, because it shows *why* no man or woman need be a cipher in society at the present time.

Nations and civilizations, no less than individuals, pass through great crises or turning points in existence, when fate holds up the interrogation point and cries "Choose"; and after the choice has been made, periods of comparative quiet follow. Sometimes they are eras of contentment, when the public mind may be compared to the pulsating ocean lulled into a profound calm; there is motion—there are the multitudinous wavelets and ripples—but as a whole the vast expanse is tranquil. At other times the thought-waves are fatal to growth, because they are poisoned with hate. Millions of men and women, having lost hope, feel themselves vanquished by cunning or power in a struggle for justice, freedom, and happiness, and they naturally send forth an atmosphere of sullen, hopeless bitterness, while from the masterful few in society the dominant or prevailing spirit is that of the alert conqueror rather than the compassionate brother. This condition is especially unfavorable to growth in an upward direction. There may be bloody outbreaks, but they are the struggles of brute

pitted against brute, a contest in which hate and savagery eclipse the divine, and the immediate result of such struggles will always be appalling, though to the student of history they will occasion no surprise; indeed he will see that they have been rendered inevitable through the inhumanity and brutality of man.

In contrast with these periods of contentment and nightmares of hate, there are the epochs of light and growth—supreme moments, which accomplish for humanity more during the space of a generation than is achieved in centuries when the brain of man is dormant, or when he lives in an atmosphere of despair. These epochs of unrest, though they be accompanied by the pangs of labor, are the birthdays of progress; they lift man from a lower to a higher state; they unfold to him a broader horizon than he has hitherto conceived to be possible. Such periods are at once the inspiration and the hope of civilization.

One of the most striking illustrations of a luminous age in the annals of a single people is afforded by the history of Greece from 500 to 400 B. C. This century witnessed the declining years of Pythagoras and the opening manhood of Plato. It was also made immortal by Æschylus—the Shakespere of Greece—Sophocles, and Euripides; Herodotus, the father of history; Thucydides, the Athenian historian; Xenophon, the soldier and historian; Hippocrates, the father of medicine; Pericles, the statesman and patron of learning and art; Pheidias, the greatest of all sculptors; and Socrates.

In the annals of our civilization the first century of what historians term modern times, or the Renaissance, furnishes another example of an epoch of unrest, or an age of the interrogation point. Here we see an awakening extending over many nations and reflecting the mental and ethical conditions of more than one stage of growth, as well as the social and national characteristics of various peoples. This was the most marked awakening known to western civilization. It was an era in which the past and present were challenged, and the future critically interrogated. It was a time of unrest and of growth, and responding to the exhilarating but disturbing thought-waves which surged over western Europe, we find Savonarola, Erasmus, Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Melancthon, Latimer, and Knox calling the church to judgment. Rabelais employs the shafts of merciless satire against hypocrisy. Sir Thomas More reveals the essential brutality, injustice, and absurdity of political and social conditions, by contrasting the civiliza-

tion of his time with his Utopian commonwealth. Angelo, Raphael, Da Vinci, Correggio, Titian, and their companions in the field of art, made the stiff, narrow, and wooden paintings of the Dark Ages appear harsh and crude in the presence of truer and freer expressions of genius untrammelled. Copernicus interrogated the heavens; Columbus discovered the New World; Vasco de Gama reached the Indies by way of Cape of Good Hope; Magellan's ships circumnavigated the globe.

The press which Gutenberg invented a few years prior to the opening of this century aided marvellously in stimulating the public mind, which had been already profoundly stirred. Colet, in founding the St. Paul's Latin Grammar School, laid the foundation for humane and rational popular education. Caxton's press, which began printing books in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, greatly aided the general intellectual awakening in England. And throughout Italy, Germany, England, France, and the Spanish Peninsula, humanity felt the profound agitation which beat upon the brain of the age in so marked a way that positive and clearly defined revolutions in religion, art, science, commerce, and politics followed. It was a civilization-wide awakening, as much grander, broader, and more far-reaching than the quickening of brain, heart, and soul in the Periclean Age as a family or group of nations is greater than one nation.

At the present time we are in the midst of a many-sided revolution as much more far-reaching in influence and greater in possibilities than the Renaissance as was that period greater than the golden age of Greece. For the restless spirit of growth and inquiry which permeates the thought of our age is not only found in every field of research, but is world-wide in its extent. The telegraph and cable have threaded the nations of earth together as beads on a single strand, and the utilization of steam has brought remote lands within easy distance of one another. The revolution in philosophical theories occasioned by the wider knowledge resulting from the interchange of the intellectual concepts of nation with nation, race with race, and civilization with civilization, is only equalled by the far-reaching influence which the marvelous revelations in psychical science are exerting. The revolution in religious thought occasioned by modern critical methods, the discoveries of discrepancies in the various ancient manuscripts and the new truths revealed by archaeological research, is only eclipsed by the profound agitation and

change going on throughout Europe, America, and Australia in regard to social and political economics and educational theories.

These are some of the phenomena which make the present the most august moment in the history of civilization, and it would seem as though destiny was shaping things so that all nations in the world which make any pretence to civilization, should come under the influence of this world-wide mental quickening. Suppose that in 1893 someone had predicted that within two years China would be compelled to throw open her ports to civilization and give audience to modern progress, and, more than that, that the great empire would be brought to these momentous concessions by the little island nation of Japan. Men would have ridiculed the idea, if they did not regard it as too wild for even contemptuous notice. All things point to the fact frequently predicted by thoughtful philosophers of the Orient that the closing years of this century will be a grand climacteric period in the history of the world. *It is in a very special sense a day of judgment*; for, while all days are judgment days in that whenever a new truth comes to man it calls him to pass upon it, and his passing is in a way his own sentence, yet the period upon which we are now entering is a culminating moment of world-wide proportion.

If we take the story of the journeyings of Israel from Egypt to Canaan as a marvellous allegory of the progress of humanity, we may compare mankind at the present moment to the Children of Israel when they had reached the boundary of Canaan and were listening to the report of the spies sent to view the land. It is an hour of readjustment, and of marvellous possibilities for the race, if reason, justice, and love can be made to conquer prejudice, selfishness, and savagery. But it is for the individuals, the nations, the civilizations, and the races to determine whether they will enter the higher estate where truth shall hold regal sway over the mind, where altruism shall dominate the heart, and love shall slay hate, or whether, like Israel, earth's children shall turn back into the desert to wander and to wait for weary generations until the lessons which we have so often blindly refused to learn are through repeated and bitter experience burned into the soul of a wiser posterity.

The tremendous issues which hang upon the choice of this supreme hour should prove sufficient to fire every man and woman of conviction, and lead to a great renunciation—a renunciation of the love of self, and dedication of brain,

heart, and hand to humanity's need. But there is another reason why the present speaks in urgent tones to every soul. The possibilities for influencing the lives of others were never greater, if indeed they were ever so great as to-day, because the public mind is in an attitude of expectancy, for at every crucial moment like the present the thought-waves of the nations, civilizations, and peoples who come under the spell of noble discontent surge to and fro much as do the mighty billows of a sea when profoundly moved by a great tempest.

The present is august because the spirit of God is moving on the waters of thought, and the coming and going of the turbulent waves lash into life or consciousness all but the most dormant and self-paralyzed brains. At such periods the brain of man becomes abnormally sensitive; it is as the prepared plate of the camera, ready to catch and hold a dominant idea, an all-mastering ideal, a life-controlling thought; or, to change the figure, the public mind resembles the iron at white heat ready to be shaped into sledge hammers to break the shackles of bondage, or to be forged into links which may enslave.

To every one—I care not how humble may be his station, I care not where or what his position—to every one strong enough to do right, is given at this splendid moment the opportunity to awaken and influence some soul or souls to come into the light. To those who live in hamlets, villages, and towns, or whose lives may seem very circumscribed, I would say: What you lack in station or scope is more than made up by the opportunities which the present affords to throw a vital thought or a divine ideal into the minds of those around you; to impress a young life, or to lead a thoughtless brain into the light.

Remember, moreover, that the peculiar mental attitude of humanity to-day is not proof against old-time prejudice or the subtle poison of ancient ideals. Humanity is rising, but we must not forget that man is linked by a thousand ties to the lower life from which he has so slowly risen and which still holds so strong a sway over the mind of millions. We are not so far from the lower animals, not so far from a state of barbarism, that we are proof against animalism or savagery; it is not safe for men to see blood. And this suggests something which illustrates the point I wish to emphasize touching the dangers which threaten civilization from the presence of strong prejudices or passions, and the influence of ancient ideals on the mind at a moment of expectancy and unrest like the present.

There never seemed a more hopeful moment for the civilization of western Europe than that presented during the heyday of the new learning, when such men as Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Colet, and their co-laborers were scattering abroad among thinking men and women the noble dream of a purified church and a redeemed society; when justice and toleration were being preached, and when the strong moral protests of Savonarola, Luther, Zwingli, and Melancthon were awaking the moral energies of man; while Copernicus was broadening the conceptions of humanity in regard to the heavens, and while art, science, and a higher conception of education than man had heretofore entertained were taking on marvellous proportions.

And yet while this glad prophetic song of the dawn was still young, when the mind of man was tense and ready to receive and act on any powerful or dominant thought or ideal, which should be pressed home with intensity and persistency, the prejudice, dogmatism and bigotry of conservatism, and the savagery latent in the heart of man were suddenly aroused and stirred into aggressive activity by the upholders of ancient thought, and the Spanish Inquisition marked the opening of a night-time for civilization, as terrible as the promises of dawn had been glorious. Spain answered the momentous question of this hour of judgment in no uncertain tones. She chose, and her choice was marked by persecution and slaughter which still sickens the heart of man. The spirit of a savage past dominated, and in the midst of her power, glory, pride, and prosperity, she fell, prostrate and paralyzed, by virtue of her choice of death instead of life, progress, and unequalled glory.

The sight and smell of human blood is always dangerous as is the arousing of the savage in man. Other nations were not slow to imitate in a milder degree the merciless persecutions of Spain, and it is a noteworthy fact that in proportion as they turned from the light of tolerance and free thought, and disregarded the principle of the golden rule, these nations suffered. The inspiration given by the light which came into the hearts of men during the time known as the Renaissance, the time of the new learning, and the morning of the Reformation, gave to western civilization a powerful impetus toward the day, and the number of individuals who chose the light was at this time so large that civilization went forward, slowly and lamely, it is true, but her movement was onward and upward. This illustration from the history of the most marked of the great awakenings of our western civilization is especially worthy of con-

sideration at the present time, inasmuch as the spirit of religious intolerance and unreasoning prejudice is already being manifested throughout the Christian world.

Another ominous shadow creeping across the sky of civilization, which at the present time is so laden with promises of triumph and progress, calls for attention, for it is a grave menace to all that is finest and best in the dawn of to-day. I refer to the general fostering of the military spirit in young and old, and the astounding attempt on the part of certain literary journals and publishing houses of the Old World and the New to create an interest and admiration for Napoleon—one of the most perfect manifestations of an incarnate demon of conscienceless ambition and destructive war afforded by the annals of the ages. In many cases this despoiler of nations and arch butcherer of mankind has been idealized and rendered a hero. In other instances, while the portrayal has been more impartial, the glamour of war and victory has been so thrown over the pages which describe the life of this colossal failure, this scourge of the race, that the effect upon the expectant public mind at the present time cannot be other than most unfortunate; especially since the church, which claims to be the home of the Prince of Peace, is at the same time displaying unprecedented activity in instructing her young in military drill and the manual of arms, thereby associating with religious ideals the images of war and visions of soldier life in the youthful mind.

This military craze rampant in governmental, educational, and religious circles, and this attempt to rivet the attention of the tense mind upon the master murderer and tyrant of the past is the most ominous spectre which darkens the sky of our present civilization, and it is saddening and discouraging when we remember that arbitration, or the settlement of national and international disputes rationally, has recently proved so successful that many of the finest minds of our century believed that Christian civilization had at last risen above the level of the savage brute, and that instead of wanton murder and the measureless waste, desolation, and destruction of war, we should hereafter see all disputes and misunderstandings settled reasonably and justly by an impartial court of intelligent human beings. Believing that man had reached a point in his slow ascent where he might begin to lay claim to being a rational creature, Victor Hugo thus characterizes the vision of the incoming day:

"The diminution of men of war, of violence, of prey, the indefinite and superb expansion of men of thought and peace; the entrance of the real heroes upon the scene of action; this is one of the greatest facts of our era. There is no more sublime spectacle—mankind's deliverance from above; the potentates put to flight by the dreamers; the prophet crushing the hero; the sweeping away of violence by thought. Lift up your eyes; the supreme drama is enacting! The legions of light are in full possession of the sword of flame. The masters are going and the liberators are coming in."

And this splendid spectacle is not only practicable and feasible, but is inevitable, if the public mind be educated along higher lines than those of wholesale homicide. This lofty conception is no impracticable dream; it merely pictures the state to which man must and will come, as surely as he rose from cannibalism to his present stage of development. It reveals the next step for enlightened humanity, and a step which might be taken to-day, if it were not for the reawakening of the savage in man, which is being industriously fostered by church, school, popular literature, and the state, at the present intellectual crisis. To-day the youth of Europe and America are having their imagination focused upon an idealized warrior who represented the cruel, savage, and selfish side of man as has no other character in modern history. And it is the ideals and thought-images which color life and give bent to character. Professor Drummond observes that "The supreme factor of development is environment. A child does not grow out of a child by spontaneous unfolding; the process is fed from without."

We do not see the plant assimilate the elements of air and earth. We cannot look into the laboratory of the rose and behold the reaching out of the plant to the sun and air for those subtle elements necessary in order that it may produce that miracle of color and perfume which in time delights our senses. We know that in some mysterious way the sunshine, the rain, and the earth give to the miracle-worker that which is essential to produce the rose. So, we do not see exactly how the thought-seeds thrown into the garden of the imagination, the ideal held before the retina of the mind, the harmony or discord which the child-brain encounters during the formative period, give color and expression to life; but we know that these subtle influences are destiny-shaping in their effect. And as before observed, this is especially true in periods like the present

when the public mind is tense, when the imagination is stimulated and receptive; when, in a word, the civilization reaches the edge of a new Canaan, and the question is put whither humanity shall move—forward, to encounter unknown danger on the road to progress, or back into the wilderness of the known to feed afresh upon the ideals and old-time thoughts, which, though they were an inspiration in an earlier age, can no longer satisfy or sustain the best in man.

The slothful, the fearful, the worshipper of the past, and those who love ease and self-comfort, no less than those who are so low on the plane of development that they have more confidence in brute methods than in reason and the divine impulse are striving in a thousand ways to turn humanity backward; like the ten spies who brought an evil report of Canaan to the children of Israel, these voices seek to turn humanity backward by appealing to prejudice, superstition, fear, the love of ease, and the savagery resident in the human heart. They are seeking to outlaw daring science and investigation; to replace the spirit of tolerance, charity, intellectual hospitality and ethical religion with the savage dogmatic faith of darker days. They are fanning the spirit of hate between religious factions; they are cultivating the war spirit, and turning the contemplation of the young from the noble ideals of a Victor Hugo to the bloody triumphs of a Napoleon. They are endeavoring to raise authority above justice and to discourage man's faith in a nobler to-morrow. They sneer at the efforts of philosophers and reformers to substitute justice for injustice. In a word, they are striving to turn civilization backward at the moment when strong and clear the order to march forward should be given.

If we hearken to these voices of the night, we assist in the commission of a mistake of measureless proportions, a mistake which must necessarily result in clouding the face of civilization for generations to come by checking the rapid march of progress; if we remain neutral, refusing to bear arms in the stupendous battle now in progress, we are recreant to the urgent duty which confronts us, and by so doing neglect the splendid opportunities given to us to be torch-bearers of progress in the most critical moment in the history of civilization.

If prejudice, selfishness, and ancient thought triumph over knowledge, altruism, and justice in the present crisis, humanity will have another long night before her, another, forty years in the wilderness.

He who at this moment realizes that his duty and responsibility are commensurate with his opportunity will rise to the august demands of the hour, becoming a greater force than he dreams possible if, realizing his own limitations, he loses sight of the tremendous fact that the time and environment of the present give him a potential power not given his fathers. We cannot do better than ponder on these words of Hugo, when with prophet voice he spoke a living truth for each awakened soul to make his own:

"The human caravan has reached a high plateau, and the horizon being vaster, art has more to do. To every widening of the horizon an enlargement of conscience corresponds. We have not reached the goal—concord condensed into felicity, civilization summed up in harmony—that is far off."

REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN ON REAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

II.

IS THE SINGLE TAX ENOUGH?

BY LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, ALTONA A. CHAPMAN, AND
FRANCES E. RUSSELL.

FIRST PAPER.

It is claimed that the taking, for public uses, of all land values, unequally produced as they are by the good and the bad, the busy and the idle, the wise and the foolish, is a socialistic measure; and, indeed, the claim is not unfounded. It is, furthermore, considered but a logical sequence of this claim to extend the socialistic principle into the nationalization of industries, and this extension is advocated on the ground that the single tax cannot alone fully accomplish an equitable distribution of the products of labor.

Now there is a fundamental difference between nationalism and the socialistic principle involved in the single tax; the latter would take for collective or public use only that wealth which is earned collectively and which, moreover, the individual could get in no other way. It is impossible to find out the rightful individual owners of values earned collectively and indirectly by a community whose members have various degrees of efficiency. There is no evidence that any values are so earned except as we see the visible wealth accumulating from the ownership of land. Each man appears to be paid in full when he gets the product of his toil, but he only gets the wealth or value which he directly creates. In working for ourselves, in merely being worthy members of society, we unconsciously benefit the community; and such value as we thus are, attaches in precise measure to the land of the community and materializes only for the landlord. Indeed our present system is worse than the "World Governed by Chance" in the old story where "We put the kettle on and sometimes it boils and sometimes it freezes." Now when we raise the fallen,

reform drunkards, remodel tenements, improve health and increase longevity, we but raise the rents in that locality and thus impoverish the very ones we aim to help, indirectly adding to the sum of human misery. It is only with these indirect though none the less real earnings that governments, municipal, state, and federal, should concern themselves, and take for public purposes that fund which cannot be collected by the ones who earn it. On the other hand any governmental interference with the direct earnings of men for purposes of taxation or even for purposes of equitable distribution, includes a violation of their individual rights not to be tolerated except as temporary expedients.

One declares: "I am unable to see that free access to land will make it possible for all to obtain what we now consider a good living so that wages will be permanently raised in all departments." They who think that the single tax means merely "free access to land" overlook the vast gain to all, as consumers, which will attend the disappearance of tariffs and trusts based on tariffs or on land monopoly, of corporations fostered by other corporations thriving by means of land monopoly, and all taxes or fines on buildings or merchandise or other wealth used productively. The general cheapness which would ensue, would be a clear gain to consumers without causing any loss to productive capital. Not only would wages remain undiminished, but they would increase, for the net product of a given industry would be as great when all products were uniformly cheap as when they are dear, and the portion of this product to be obtained by labor depends upon the ratio of labor to employment. The produce and the number of men remaining the same, reduction in prices would be equivalent to higher wages.

Again, the removal of all taxation upon the products of industry, besides making things cheap, removes the annual fine for their possession and invites greater investment of wealth in homes and all untaxable property. This kind of property is only made with hands, so that a greater investment in it means employment to labor—an increased number of jobs—which, the number of men remaining the same, must increase wages.

So from the operation of the single tax we have:

First the opening of land for use and increased self-employment upon it—a greater number of jobs, which, by drawing off many unemployed, must permanently increase wages.

Second, the removal of all taxation upon the products of industry, causing reduced prices and virtual increase of wages.

Third, the inevitable flowing of capital into untaxed property—homes and productive instead of speculative business; result, increased employment, higher wages.

Total result of the single tax entire; three distinct forces permanently in motion, each increasing the proportion of net products accruing to labor. At whose expense is this triple increase to labor's share? It is not at the expense of capital, either productive or stored; but only at the cost of speculative business established with the sole intent of getting something for nothing.

After all this were done, I do not believe people would long be reduced either to borrow at unfair rates or to sell their products to speculators; gone would be the power of national banks and of the various food trusts based on people's dire necessities. It is not the magnitude of industries that threatens our just interests; not the business, however large, that thrives according to the amount of work done; but that business, like the Standard Oil company, the beef trusts, and the real estate business, which thrives chiefly according to the amount of commodities cornered.

I do not believe we are tending solely toward centralization, nor entirely toward individualism; but that these two forces alternately give way to each other. The fair competition possible a hundred years ago, when a wilderness of free land invited the pioneer, succeeded by a strong centralization of privileged wealth when that land is locked up, will in turn be followed by still more equitable competition when we secure the use of our public domain and the abolition of that excuse for unfair privileges—the tariff. And the same economy of which nationalists dream would be possible, and far less dangerous, through voluntary coöperation.

LONA INGHAM ROBINSON.

SECOND PAPER.

Is the single tax enough to solve the labor problem and all other social problems inseparably connected with it? I reply unhesitatingly, Yes, and for the following reasons:

1. Because the *single* tax, as its name signifies, involves the abolition of all other taxes—tariff, internal revenue, and license, as well as all other tax burdens upon production,

improvement, or exchange. It thus removes all hindrances to the *natural* solution of these problems.

2. By abolishing *privilege* and putting all citizens upon the equal footing of *rent-payers to the community*, the single tax affords the only just and practical method of bringing about that equality of condition or "equal sharing" in the products of labor and benefits of skill that socialists demand. That genuine equality that consists in securing to each the power to gratify all his desires, be they few or many—to satisfy *all* his needs, of whose nature and extent he is the best judge—is the equality to be desired; not an artificial and compulsory equality that consists in equal distribution of land or leisure, or arbitrary limitation of income or industry. No higher authority as to the reasonable requirements of each can be found than the individual most nearly concerned; no central arbitrary power, however well meaning or intelligent, can be safely entrusted the task of apportionment which can only be justly and satisfactorily effected by natural laws.

Now all that is needed to secure this most genuine and satisfactory equality of condition is *equality of access* to nature's storehouse of raw material—the land—and perfect freedom to exchange with others the products of individual industry. These two essentials can be secured by taxing land values and freeing trade, and I know of nothing else that will so perfectly secure them.

The single tax, however, can hardly be termed the *nationalization* of rent, since land values will be collected and, for the most part, distributed *where they are created*; the greatly simplified functions of the general government necessitating a much smaller revenue than at present. Wilmington, for instance, will not expect to share the larger revenues of Baltimore; nor can Boston justly claim a portion of the vast wealth of New York in land values; but the people of each municipality will be the chief beneficiaries of the wealth which they have themselves created, and which will be used mainly for local purposes. Thus the single tax will secure to each community, as to each individual, undisturbed possession of *its own*.

As Mr. George has very clearly shown in all his leading books, the fundamental laws of production are the same under simple or complex methods of operation. The laws of economics, like those of mathematics, have not changed since he began writing, because they are unalterable; and it is as true now that "all wealth is created by the application of labor to land" as it is that two and two make four and no more. The inventing or operating a labor-saving machine

is as truly an act of labor on the part of the inventor or operator as is working with the bare hands; he who runs a steam cultivator is as truly a laborer as he who uses the more simple and primitive device of plow or spade. And the returns to labor will be, under the single tax, in exact proportion to its grade, skilled or brain labor receiving higher wages than unskilled, and justly so. This will prove a powerful incentive to the acquisition of skill and knowledge.

While all wealth is the product of labor applied to land, it is created much more easily and rapidly as well as more abundantly by coöperative effort; in fact, some forms of wealth are obtainable only in this way. This being a law of civilized life, it may be safely trusted to assert itself under the condition of equal freedom maintained by the single tax, which is in no sense a *substitute* for coöperation, any more than it is for eating and drinking. The first is as natural to society as the last two are to the individual; and voluntary coöperation will be the order of the day, without the necessity of nationalizing industries, simply because it is *inevitable*.

The ability to labor intelligently and effectively, like land and life, is the free gift of God to the race. The best we can do is to get out of God's sunlight and let it do its appointed work unhindered—the physical sunlight in fructifying and blessing the union of land and labor; the spiritual sunlight in enlightening the minds of men with intelligence and wisdom and warming their hearts with the glow of fraternal love.

Mrs. Russell seems to doubt the practicability of the maxim that "Wages belong to each according to the value of his product," and puts the question: "In a watch factory, for instance, who can determine the amount of each one's product? How much of the total product of the factory comes from the accumulated knowledge how to make watches?—the inheritance of the race. Who has an individual right to that enormous portion?"

To the second question I would reply that the accumulated knowledge how to make watches would never of itself make a watch in this world, or even the smallest part of one, if somebody did not make that knowledge his own by his individual study and application, and then carry it into effect by his individual effort. The earth is also the inheritance of the race, but not an acre of it would afford even the poorest living to any one without the expenditure of individual skill and energy upon it; and in this case, as in every

other, his just wages will be according to the value of his product.

As for determining the amount of each one's product in a coöperative form of industry, that easily and unerringly determines itself by the cost of replacing it. Let us reckon the factors of production in our illustrative watch factory, for instance, as consisting of

First, the location—land or natural opportunity; its proximity to the market, facilitating the ready exchange of its product for any equivalent wealth-form desired, having a direct influence upon the volume and exchange value of that product.

Second, the capital; i. e., the buildings, machinery, tools, etc.; in other words, the whole plant.

Third, labor of superintendence—chiefly brain work.

Fourth, skilled labor, such, for instance, as putting together the various parts of the watches, regulating, finishing, and preparing for market.

Fifth, unskilled or mechanical labor—such as feeding the machines with metal strips to be transformed into wheels, springs, plates, etc.

Now as land is the most indispensable factor of all, since without a suitable location there can be no factory, it would seem at first that the larger share of the product would necessarily go to that factor which had the most to do in determining its value, and *so it does to-day*. But under a condition of freedom to appropriate all unused opportunities, which the single tax would maintain, neither the community nor any individual could claim a larger share of the product in the shape of rent for any given location than any other site of equal advantages and accessibility could command. And the natural increase of population and the growth and multiplicity of cities and towns would create such opportunities so rapidly that rent could never absorb an abnormal amount of any industrial product. And as land rentals would be in any case the property of the community, this part of the product, whether large or small, would be redistributed among its members in the form of public benefits and utilities that all could share.

When we consider, in the second place, that *money* can no longer be advantageously employed in holding vast natural opportunities idle for speculative purposes, and that freedom of access to these natural opportunities will enormously increase the amount of surplus wealth or "stored-up labor" to be used in facilitating further production so that the cost of replacing buildings, machinery, or tools of any

description will be but slight, it will be seen that capital's share of the product must necessarily be the most insignificant of all.

Where, then, will go the large remainder of the product that will be left after capital and rent are both paid—where can it go except to labor? and to that according to its degree of efficiency measured by the cost of replacing it. As long as brains cost more effort to replace than hands, brains will have—and justly, too—the larger share of their joint product, since they represent the expenditure of a greater amount of labor. Should skilled hands ever become more difficult to replace than educated brains, then the hands will claim the premium, and get it, too. But as, no matter how vigorously hands or brains may be exercised, neither, in the normally developed man, ever grows so large as to absorb all or nearly all the nourishment of the body, so there is no fear that any one grade or class of labor will ever receive so much of the product as to impoverish the rest. For whatever grade of labor can command the highest wages will attract the most workers, and their brisk competition will so reduce the cost of replacing it as to preserve a reasonable and just average along the whole line.

The power of monopoly so dreaded exists only by government permission, or, rather, by government *interference* with the rights of labor. Without the whole power of government to back it up, no monopoly of any sort could maintain itself twenty-four hours. Either free competition would put a speedy end to it, or dispossession by force would be its fate. But by government help it can defy the wrath of outraged labor; and how promptly and effectively government comes to the aid of its imperilled protégé has been abundantly demonstrated in the recent conflict between labor and monopoly. The single tax, by repealing the unjust laws which now sustain monopoly, will deprive it of government protection; and it will die as quickly and inevitably as a tree cut off from its roots.

Monopoly, like everything else human, must have *land* in some form as a foundation or it cannot stand. No monopolistic wall that does not *come down to the ground* can shut in any product of the earth from human hands that crave it. It is difficult to see, for instance, how the possessor of "the lately invented mining machine" can *long* "defy competition" from those having equally good natural opportunities to develop, and equal freedom of access to the market, unless the latest is also the last—further invention being prohibited by law. Unless protected by a patent,

which is one form of legalized monopoly that could be abrogated under the single tax if found inimical to the public welfare, competitors could help themselves to the idea, and reproduce the machine in quantities at a small cost. Or if fenced out by a patent, they could make it worth while for inventive genius, which is proving itself practically inexhaustible, to speedily produce something equally good or better for some rival concern. Monopoly being not a natural growth, but the artificial product of human legislation, the quickest and safest way to abolish it is not by making *more* laws, but by *unmaking* the unjust laws already enacted which produce and foster it. Greater freedom, not greater restriction, is the divinely appointed way out of our difficulties and distresses.

The intelligent physician knows that the *vis medicatrix naturæ* has more to do with the cure of disease than all the drugs in his pharmacopœia, and that his principal care must be to *remove obstructions* and leave the natural healing power free to do its appointed work. So the intelligent political economist must realize that this *vis medicatrix naturæ* inheres not only in the individual, but also in the larger social organism, and needs but to be given free play to cure all the social ills with which humanity is afflicted to-day. We single taxers not only do not presume to make a programme for Providence—we do not even presume to legislate for Him, except in the way of *undoing* our own obstructive and restrictive legislation of the past. We believe that the laws of equilibrium which govern all social functions and relations for the promotion of the general welfare are as unerring as those that control the motions of the heavenly bodies; hence our motto is "Hands off!"

So it is not claimed for the single tax that it will bring about the desired results by *doing* so much—that it will of itself automatically feed, clothe, or educate, for instance—but that it will ensure these things being done in the best way by removing all that now hinders their accomplishment. The one thing that it surely *will do* is to guarantee a just equality of opportunity to all men, leaving God and Nature to do the rest. And the case could not be left in better hands.

ALTONA A. CHAPMAN.

THIRD PAPER.—A FEW COMMENTS, QUOTATIONS, AND QUERIES.

It seems probable that some of us have been misinformed as to the relative exactness and importance of the laws of political economy and the laws of nature. Politics

are merely the garments of the social body, liable to be worn out or outgrown. A good eye-opener is the article on "Political Economy," treated historically in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. John Stuart Mill, after publishing his famous work on Political Economy, wrote of the subject in his *Autobiography*, as—

Not a thing by itself, but a fragment of a greater whole; a branch of Social Philosophy, so interlinked with all the other branches, that its conclusions, even in its own province, are only true conditionally, subject to interference and counteraction from causes not directly within its scope: while to the character of practical guide it has no pretensions apart from other classes of considerations.

Ricardo's "law of rent" seems like a great discovery in the field of economics, especially as it has been worked out by Henry George. I don't know who first discovered that other unearned increment, the "rent of ability." I met the expression first in the *Fabian Essays*. W. H. Mallock has much to say in his economic books and essays on Ability with a big A, as a fourth factor in production. It is the genius of the discoverer and the ingenuity of the inventor; or—another class of exceptional ability—the shrewdness and foresight of the organizer or manager. These are "gifts of character, not the results of education," says Mr. Mallock.

If the individual "ability to labor intelligently and effectively," which any average man can acquire, is, as Miss Chapman says, "the free gift of God to the race"—"like land," as she admits,—how much more a free gift of God *to the race* is the rare inventive talent or gift of discovery embodied in those who have not sought it or deserved it more than others.

Mr. Mallock declares that "the monopoly of Ability grows stricter at each fresh step of progress"; and we can see that this is so as machinery becomes more intricate and expensive and great industrial establishments sweep the field. But Mr. Mallock seems to think it quite the just and proper thing that capitalists should buy up this concentrated Ability and pocket the profits.

Mere personal skill has advanced little through centuries, and has to be acquired each for himself; but inventions have accumulated as the legacy of one age to another, and are crystallized in elaborate and costly machinery and localized in great manufacturing works, where the hundreds and thousands of individual workers (less skilled hands being required as machinery is more perfected) are each of so little importance relatively to the whole, that the cost of replacing one of them would now be only that worker's cheapest

board and clothes, were it not for the resistance of labor unions.

In the summary given of the factors of production in a great factory no account is made of accumulated Ability, except under the head of capital, and it is again confused with money.

Suppose the great building to be in its location, unlimited money at command, managerial talent prepared, plenty of hands trained to general skill and ready to turn to a specialty, and unskilled labor in abundance—but no machinery and no idea of its construction in the brains of any living man! What then?

Here is land, here is labor, here is capital. Bid them go fetch the machinery. In time they may do it, for "what man has done man can do"; but it has taken centuries to bring inventions, by gradual accretions, to their present power. Lacking the machinery and tools and the accumulated knowledge they embody, of what value would the product of each one be? And what the economic rent of the location?

Mrs. Robinson says of economic rent, "There is no evidence that any values are so earned except as we see the visible wealth accumulating from the ownership of land." May we not say the same of the rent of Ability, and the visible accumulating *as dividends for stockholders*, after the payment of rent, interest, wages, and superintendence? I fail to see any "fundamental difference" between the socialization of economic rent and the socialization of the rent of Ability under combined labor; and I should favor both as soon as "we, the people" can make up our minds to it and see the way.

Speaking of what may be, a century hence, Edward Bellamy says:

It is recognized that ninety-nine one hundredths of the value of any person's work, and often the very possibility of the work itself, is created by the social organization which is the joint and indivisible inheritance of all, so that even if any body of metaphysicians and mathematicians were able to determine the elements in the value of an individual's work which he had absolutely originated and independently created, it would doubtless be a pittance too beggarly to support life.

The single-tax plan of economic salvation, as set forth clearly and concisely by Mrs. Robinson, seems to work admirably if you look only at the plan and ignore the conditions.

Whether the drawing off of the unemployed to work for themselves on land set free for their use by the single

tax would materially or permanently increase wages in factories, depends on the profits of manufacturing. It is to the poorest land in use, or to the best business locations for which there is no competition, that the unemployed would go with their empty pockets. What these could make working *for themselves* on their land or in their shops, would depend upon their ability to compete with capitalistic methods; and Mr. George has said, what all observers must see, that the little shop and the small farm have no chance of financial success. Yet their degree of success is the single tax measure of just wages for the lowest grade of workers employed by masters; and to their earnings could the wages of the lowest grade be held—a bare living by long hours of hard work. Is it not so?

Capital would not flow into manufacturing unless that could be made profitable. The single-taxers insist upon free trade with all the world—abstractly just and desirable and possible, *as a part of a perfect whole*. But what can American factories do in competition with those now rapidly increasing in Asiatic countries? In the new cotton factories of Japan the employees are mostly women, working twelve hours a day for a wage of threepence. And our “kings of commerce” are making arrangements to bring us their products.

I do not deny that the single tax would keep the now unemployed alive without charity on free land, or that free trade would give us cheap goods; but factories would not start up here if unable to compete with those of other nations; and business men and workingmen would not find it safe to build houses for themselves or to rent, when the fluctuations of business are likely to drag men from their homes and transfer them from place to place under the risks of competition. “Free competition” now means “nation against nation.”

The single tax is merely one *method* of putting into practice the *principle* that all mankind have equal rights to the use of the earth. It is the *principle* which is precious, and that is not assailed when we question the inadequacy of the *method* (helpful as it may be) to solve the *whole labor problem*. The same *principle* may be seen in practice, imaginatively, in Mr. Bellamy's picture of industrial coöperation in the year 2000. There need be nothing “compulsory” about that national industrial coöperation if *rent* is nationalized instead of such national ownership of the land as to give no chance for disgruntled individualists to go off alone and “produce” for themselves everything they want,

from pins to printing machines, and to enjoy the dear delight of bargaining and trading with others like-minded. There should certainly be a way of escape to free land, from the economy and leisure and harmony of united labor, for people who prefer the "self-seeking" of individualism.

But Mr. Bellamy's picture is of no consequence, as he himself has said, except as suggestive of how coöperation on a national scale *might* be managed, the details to work out as they may. Any one of us has as much right as another to imagine future Utopias. Mr. Bellamy defines nationalism as "industrial democracy." He has lately written:

If nationalism means uniformity, it is most undesirable. I see in it, on the other hand, the promise and basis of an unprecedented development of individual tastes and preferences, to result in a wealth of variety and diversity such as we do not now dream of. Nationalism is nothing new, but merely democracy, and equality is but the right way to spell liberty.

Kindergartens are needed, in which individualists can learn the meaning of democracy, till they cease talking about "the functions of *government*," as a power outside ourselves; "governmental interference," when we, the people, talk of managing our own industrial life unitedly for the benefit of all and the danger of "restriction" and "more laws," when national coöperation is talked of as a means of getting rid of restrictive laws.

The municipalization of public utilities is always implied in the idea of nationalism, and is the point where Mr. Bellamy first directed practical work. I learned the term "nationalization of rent" from the president of the San Francisco Single Tax League, and afterwards from an editorial in the *Single Tax Courier*. It does not necessarily mean centralization.

Just what do our friends mean by "voluntary coöperation" which they say is "inevitable"? Do they like the kind which is coming on rapidly?—the "communism of capital," the "voluntary coöperation" of the financially strong in pools and trusts? If monopolies exist "only by governmental permission," it is because they are stronger than the government—*make* the government, in fact. The question is whether we shall have *industrial self-government* by national organization of our industries for the benefit of all, or become the virtual slaves and puppets of combined capital. An article in a late number of the *Westminster Review* of England, entitled "Should Capitalists Advocate State Socialism?" and arguing that they should get the

English nation to buy up and work their industries (because they are no longer profitable to capitalists!)—is suggestive of—unutterable things! “State socialism” is quite other than “nationalism.”

Consider a few facts: England is called very rich and prosperous (in spite of “darkest England”), but the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture says that the balance of trade *against* her, in 1894 was £134,000,000; and that her land values are falling and the profits of agriculture have disappeared before “foreign competition” and the “gold standard” and the late “death duties” on land—so that much good land is going out of cultivation. England can no longer afford to raise her own bread and meat; and her factories (except those which are making the machinery to send abroad to take employment from British workmen) are most of them no longer considered good investments. Mr. Mallock said, in his book on “Labor and the Popular Welfare,” that about one and one-half billion pounds of England’s wealth—about equal to the value of her land—represents *a share in the industries* of other countries!” The stockholders of the great flouring mills in Minneapolis hold their meetings in London; and the dividends of the cotton factories of Japan are said to be “very satisfactory to the stockholders,” wherever they may be.

There is more than one way of riding on the back of labor. Only last week I heard a member of the Chamber of Commerce explaining that no one is now willing to invest in land and mortgages, and that the rage for investment in manufactures has passed also, there being so little profit and so much risk. Bonds are the favorite investment—wanted by investors here as well as in England—town, county, and state bonds, as well as national bonds. This may show how much more faith investors have in the *whole people* than in private business or corporations; but it is a means by which the many are made to pay tax to the few. The interest on the bonds—usually for a long term of years—and finally the bonds themselves, must be paid out of the public treasury and raised by taxation. Should the public revenue be made up wholly from ground rent by the taxation of land values, all these bonds and their interest will be drawn through the public treasury from *ground rent*—that fund which single taxers expect to have redistributed among the people in payment for public services and public improvements. The bondholder can live wherever in the world he pleases, on the rent of our land supplied him by the single tax, free from toil and from taxes, with less

anxiety and more freedom than the landlord of to-day. Tell me if this is not so. It is not an argument against the single tax but against bonds.

Whether the oft-repeated assertion that the single tax will put an end to all monopoly has been proved, the readers of these papers will judge for themselves.

I believe that it is a dangerous thing to advocate a half-measure, however valuable it may be, as a full solution of the pressing labor problem.

As for trusting to "Nature" to bring us out of economic and social distresses, let us listen to the latest teachings of the evolutionists; to Huxley, for instance, who speaks of "the fanatical individualism of our time" which "attempts to apply the analogy of cosmic nature to society." He says: "Let us understand, once for all, that the ethical progress of society depends, not on imitating the cosmic process, still less in running away from it, but in combating it."

FRANCES ELDREDGE RUSSELL

PUBLIC HEALTH AND NATIONAL DEFENCE.

BY FRANK BUFFINGTON VROOMAN.

ROME could have presented a situation no more dramatic in her consternation when she found the hordes of Attila or Genseric at her gates than that of the modern world when it suddenly discovered itself besieged by innumerable armies more merciless and more deadly than the Vandals or the Huns. The insidious cohorts of cholera microbes from Asia, the yellow-fever bacilli from the South, the typhoid and diphtheria from the pestilence nurseries we cultivate in our own midst, inspire, by the invisible and silent persistence of their campaign, a certain uncanny terror unknown to war. We are surrounded by invisible legions of enemies, and if we look up, like the servant of Elisha, we may behold the mountains full of the horses and chariots thereof. We wonder that we have not found out before that an infectious disease is the invasion of countless and venomous little beasties or the growth of infinite numbers of infinitesimal deadly fungi; and the modern sick man may well feel sensations like those experienced in a dark hour by Schopenhauer when he said he felt like Gulliver among the Lilliputians, overcome by a very large number of very small men.

But modern science has also conceived a new idea of national defence. While it has been inventing heavy guns and steel ships and sinister rifles, and, what is better than all, boards of arbitration, it has also been studying the nature and habits of these insidious enemies of man. It has tracked them to their lairs. It has pursued them to their haunts. It has not only studied their natures and habits, but has discovered the weapons and defences which nature puts into our hands ready made, for protection from invasion and for cutting off supplies when once they have effected landing upon our shores. The idea is dawning vaguely upon the world that human life is too noble to be left a prey to wild beasts, be they large or small, human or inhuman, animal or vegetable. No questions more "vitally" concern a nation than the preservation and conservation of the life of that nation, together with all the defences of that life from hostile invasion by land or water or air. The purpose of this paper is to present facts enough to make it plain that there is before mankind a new era for life and the pursuit of happiness,

by practising politically or socially what modern science is now preaching with the unction of infallibility.

It is hardly too much to say that we are actually in possession of such facts and methods as to make it seem definitely possible to banish contagious and infectious diseases from the world. The superficial observer is unable to form any adequate idea of what has been accomplished and what by proper methods may still be accomplished, until he has made a careful study of the statistics. These figures will warrant a rough estimate that there are doubtless more than 200,000 people alive in the United States at the end of every year who under unsanitary conditions that once prevailed would have been in their graves; and that there are 200,000 people in their graves at the end of every year who might be alive if we had had the best facilities known to preventive medicine, to say nothing of the much larger number of cases of sickness that have been or might have been prevented with proper precautions. We are brought to consider what an adequate system of vital economy under state control can do when we remember that by ten years of national sanitation Germany has saved as much in life and health as she lost in the whole Franco-Prussian War. In this connection it is not amiss to quote some words of a sanitary engineer in the English military service, who said to a member of the Army Sanitary Commission of the Crimea, that if the money spent by Russian militarism in the fortifications of Sebastopol had been applied in opening up the fine territory thereabouts with roads and such sanitary works as would fit it for settlement, an amount of civil population and of force would have been raised there that would have withstood the combined armies of France and England, which the fortifications failed to do. To which one may venture to add that the amount of money spent by the government on armories and what-not, applied to the problems of national defence in the direction of making strong men and women, would go far toward making a healthy and happy people.

In this era of transformations, there has been no greater change than in the world's outlook upon all the subjects which relate to health. There is as wide a difference between the scientific physician of to-day and the private practitioner of a generation ago as between the latter and the medicine man of the Sioux tribe, or the medicine man of the good old days of Governor Winthrop who was willing to heal disease with the powder made from a live toad baked in an earthen pot in the open air. Sir John Simon, whose writings on public health questions are already classic, has said, "In proportion as medicine has become a science it has ceased to become the mystery of a caste." The

world is well rid of priesthoods, be they sacrificers to *Æsculapius* or the saints or the "bosses"; and any profession, be it divinity, politics, or medicine, must be able to bear exposure to the open light of day. So it comes that the better part of modern pathology is now a common possession, because it stands for prevention, not cure. This science seems to have been settled for all time, in the case of infectious and contagious diseases, upon a basis of micro-biology.

The theory of a living contagium has been so thoroughly investigated within a score of years as to yield a science of bacteriology, which has shown us the nature and position of the foe, and has made possible an organized defence. That defence, simply stated, is cleanliness — national cleanliness. The microbe is the particular and tangible enemy of mankind, and it thrives in filth. When cleanliness is scrupulously observed, the microbe disappears. It may not be amiss to remind the *Nation*, or any other journal complaining that the modern fear of dirt is degenerating into mysophobia, that, so far as infectious diseases are concerned, it is absolutely the only safeguard, and is sure to be developed into a new and very important branch of civil government.

The primary aim of preventive medicine is by means of systematic and thorough cleanliness to prevent the invasion of man's tissues by disease-producing microbes. No other enemy of the human race is so bold and audacious as the microbe, which infests the houses we live in, the water we drink, and the air we breathe. To state the matter in the language of a celebrated authority, spoken before the International Medical Congress of 1881, "We have learnt as regards those diseases of the animal body which are due to various kinds of external cause, probably all the most largely fatal of these (impossible yet to say how many) represent but a single kind of cause, and respectively depend on invasions of the animal body by some rapidly multiplying form of alien life." Although the science of bacteriology is only a few years old, some knowledge of bacteria has been obtained since Leeuwenhoek, a Dutch lens-polisher, made a microscope powerful enough to enable him to discover their existence. This was before 1675. After him Linnæus was able to prophesy, though he was not able to prove, that these little living things would be seen to be the actual contagia of certain eruptive diseases and of acute fevers, as well as the cause of fermentation and putrefaction. Little further real advance was made until Bassi, in 1837, and Pasteur and others later demonstrated bacteriological processes in fermentation and putrefaction and also in disease. Sir Joseph Lister made the idea fruitful in the application of germicidal substances to wounds, and

inaugurated a new era in the progress of surgery. Later Pasteur discovered the method of cultivating bacilli outside the living body and attenuating them, thus revealing the *rationale* of Jenner's method of inoculation. Koch followed the epoch-making discoveries of Pasteur by the discovery of the tubercle and cholera bacilli, and these men and their contemporaries are working out on these lines the problems and possibilities of the world's health.

Some idea of the problems confronting preventive medicine is shown in the extraordinary minuteness and vitality of the pathogenic microbes that are characteristic of particular diseases, and the wonderful swiftness with which they multiply. In the case of any specific contagious or infectious disease it is only necessary for one microbe to have found its way to its chosen host. It has been found that some of these micro-organisms, multiplying by fission (or dividing in two, each half becoming a whole, and so on), reproduce every thirty minutes; although this is an extreme case. With proper conditions, under these circumstances, it will be seen that one bacterium invading human tissues would lead in twenty-four hours to the production of several billions of bacteria. Their size, while it cannot be appreciated, is such that a cubic inch could be made to contain, according to different calculations, all the way from 50,000,000,000,000 to 884,736,000,000,000. When we add to this the fact that air and water and nearly all else is swarming with them, we are at last facing the problem.

Experiments have been made in Paris by Miguel and Davy, showing the ratio between the number of bacteria inhabiting high and low, frequented and unfrequented altitudes. At the lantern of the Pantheon (three hundred and ten feet high) the air is twenty times purer than in the Rue de Rivoli. In high altitudes of two thousand metres no microbes have been found, whilst in the open parts of Mt. Loux at Paris seven thousand were found in the cubic metre, and in the Rue de Rivoli there were thirty-five thousand in the cubic metre. They possess a vitality greater than man's, no temperature having been found cold enough to kill them, and some of them being able to thrive in boiling water. But there are means of killing them. A most curious and effective weapon within our reach is sunshine. Everyone hears of the insatiable greed of those monopolies by which men have undertaken to turn the natural products of the earth in the ages past to their own account; for example, the coal and oil products, which they have done nothing to create, everything to keep from the use of those for whom they were divinely designed in the ordering of the world. But what American monopoly would dare tax the air and sunshine? Yet this is exactly what Eng-

land has done until recent times. There are people living who have seen the windows of the houses of the poor nailed up because they could not afford to pay the window tax. Taxing the sunlight! Yet what are the oil and coal spoken of but the sunlight stored up by a bountiful Nature against the growing darkness and cold in the advancing age of the world?

Much of our health and happiness is dependent upon sunshine. Our dependence upon it in all things is being recognized more and more. Within a very few weeks an act has been passed by Parliament requiring all houses erected in London to be restricted in height and all streets to be at least forty feet wide so that sunlight may have free access. In the records of the Royal Botanic Society for 1888 is a very suggestive discussion by Mr. Symons, F. R. S., of the influence of sunshine upon plant life. "There is no fructification without light, and indeed few plants can flower without it." Another writer says: "Sunlight is seen to be the active force maintaining the purity of the atmosphere . . . splitting up carbonic acid into carbon and oxygen, the plants absorbing the carbon . . . and restoring the oxygen to the atmosphere. . . . The lower the forms of life the more does light act in a contrary fashion and become inimical to it, as in fungi, etc. . . . If it were not for the sunlight every pond would become a breeder of pestilence." The sunlight, while friendly to the higher forms of life, such as man and animals and plants, is deadly to most micro-organisms. Here emerges an important truth. The sunshine seems to be Nature's friend. It seems to bear some such relation to life as to deeds of good and ill. Well may the enemies and outcasts of Nature fear the light, "neither come to the light." Dr. Janowski has proved that the sunlight will kill typhoid bacilli in from four to seven hours. Tyndall's experiments on the Alps with fungoid growths bear similar testimony concerning the bactericidal action of sunshine. Dr. D. J. Hamilton in his masterly work on pathology describes the experiment of passing sunlight through a culture of anthrax spores on glass and destroying them, and adds that the sun's rays kill most microphytes. Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson (now Sir Benjamin) describes an experiment with the poison from the fangs of a cobra sent to him from India. The sunlight took away the poisonous properties altogether. It has been reserved for the modern bacteriologist to tell the story of how Apollo slew the Python with his arrows.

We know that in nearly all contagious diseases there are certain conditions analogous to those Mr. Justice Cunningham of Bengal describes of cholera in India: "Cholera is a crop which requires its seed-bed to be carefully prepared and the conditions to be congenial; and these conditions are dirt in air,

water, and food, acting on enfeebled constitutions. Directly a locality or community is freed from these conditions, cholera disappears from its midst." This is almost the universal rule of all infectious diseases. The mortality rates of the city of Naples have been transformed by the introduction of the pure water of the Serino from the Apennines, and by the demolition of some crowded old streets. The city of Berlin has been made over by proper water supply and sewage disposal. The death-rate of the poor children of New York, which had been steadily increasing, has shown a decrease of ten per cent since the introduction by Nathan Strauss of the sterilized milk charity. Foul air and water are the media of contagion. Improper food is as bad. And here one would suggest a stricter oversight of food dealers, and a more rigid enforcement of the penalties against selling adulterated or stale or rotting comestibles. These are sold, especially to the poor, in scandalous quantities.

We have seen enough to make it clear that in our continued and unequal warfare with pathogenic bacteria common sunshine is one of the most formidable defences with which Nature has supplied us. The same is true of pure air, pure water, and wholesome food. These are the weapons which lie at the hand of every man, and which ought to be *in* his hand. It is only needful to establish his possession of them, and then for him to rest secure in that possession. Let him make constant and utmost effort against disease, then let him trust his endeavor. There is a Turkish parable of two ghastly phantoms who passed through the world sowing misery and death.

"I am Cholera," said the first, "and thousands are mine."

The second and more terrible, who followed in her wake, said, "I am Fear, and I claim my tens of thousands."

The story expresses a well-known truth of psychological hygiene. Panic is one of the first and surest causes of disease, as we saw on Fire Island in 1892. The great plagues of the Middle Ages, ascribed to "sorcerers," "poisoners," and "anointers" by the frenzied and ignorant crowd, were given a tremendous impetus by the unhealthy and morbid mental conditions, the superstitions, terrors, and fantasies, which obtained. Mind and body so subtly sublend each other, and are so mutually sympathetic, that "*mens sana in corpore sano*" is not only the ultimate desideratum of health, but is means as well as end.

The history of sanitation is very much older than that of modern pathology. The Jewish system of sanitation is known to every reader of the Old Testament. The idea of public health as a matter of legislation was a living idea to the Jews. Traces of sanitation are found with the earliest records of the existence of the human race. The kitchen-middens familiar to the anthro-

pologist are the monuments of a sanitary idea, namely the systematic disposal of refuse materials, by burial or by cremation, which found some expression in the valley of Hinnom, or Gehenna of the New Testament. Hippocrates, twenty-three centuries ago, had noticed that health was not a matter of magic or superstition, but depended on the condition of air and water and food, and the personal habits of the people. Hippocrates knew nothing about bacteria, but he had more common-sense than the generation who, when the cholera came, blasphemously cried out "a providence of God," and to whom men like Kingsley preached sermons and wrote novels to tell them it was not Providence at all, but their own filthiness. Over three centuries before the Christian era Rome had a system of sanitation and of sanitary engineering which would put to shame many ignorant vicinities of the nineteenth century. "The city," Mommsen tells us, "was divided into four police districts for the efficient repair of the network of the drains, large and small, by which Rome was pervaded, as well as by public buildings and places for the proper cleansing of the streets, for preventing the nuisances of ruinous buildings, dangerous animals, or foul smells, for the removal of wagons from the highway except during the hours of evening and night, for the uninterrupted supply of the market with good and cheap grain, for the destruction of unsound goods and the suppression of false weights and measures, and for [the special oversight of baths, taverns, etc.]" (Bk. II. ch. viii.). Compare this with the magnificent system in this enlightened age, existing in New Jersey fifteen years ago, when no more was expended in that state on the entire work of the board of health for a whole year than the pay of two policemen.

It is only by the slowest process that medical science, as we now understand it, has come to be based upon an accurate physiology, and the science of medicine has kept pace with the scientific spirit. For example, a most instructive fact is that Harvey published his *Exercitatio de Motu Sanguinis* in 1628, or eight years after Bacon published his *Novum Organum*. A century later Dr. Richard Mead published a short discourse concerning "Pestilential Contagion," which passed through seven editions the first year, the secretary of state conferring with the author as to the best precautions for national safety in the likelihood of a revisitation of the Levantine plague which had wrought such devastation fifty years before. The eighteenth century closed with the publication of Dr. Jenner's immortal work, which occupies the neutral zone between curative and preventive medicine. In 1838 an epidemic broke out in White-chapel near a stagnant pond. Sir Edwin Chadwick, secretary of the Poor Law Board, secured the appointment of a commit-

tee, consisting of three of the most eminent physicians in London, to investigate the matter. One of them pointed out to what extent the shameless water-supply of the metropolis contributed to disease and death. This created a sensation so deep that commissions followed, and modern sanitary science may be said to have had its beginning then.

Since that time progress has been rapid. Not to enter into details such as are available to everyone, wherever systematic and scientific sanitation has been given a fair chance the most astonishing results have appeared. Lord Ripon reports that by simple cleanliness the death-rate of the British army in Algeria was reduced from one hundred to twelve per thousand. The sanitary system which saved the second army in the Crimea brought the death rate of the army in India down from sixty-nine to fourteen per thousand. The first board of health in England secured a reduction beyond any other European country of fifty thousand lives saved. Sanitary science during the Victorian age has prolonged the life of every man, woman, and child in Great Britain two years, says Sir Edwin Chadwick; three and one-half years, says the president of the Association of Sanitary Inspectors. The same authorities think it possible to prolong every life from five to eight years, by spending more money in the same way. The most satisfactory results have been secured by the diminution of overcrowding. In the model dwellings for the poor the average duration of each human life has been actually increased ten years. Here are the greatest gains, here are the greatest needs, and here are the gravest responsibilities.

Sir Edwin Chadwick has shown that the average duration of life among the gentry and professional classes (the few) is sixty-three years; while the average age amongst wage-earners (the many) is twenty-eight and four-fifths years. This fact is a commentary, hideous enough, on the hybrid civilization, commercial in spirit, Christian in name, which tolerates such infamous conditions of life. Here is a question of vital economy more important to the laboring man than any question of political economy; except that the existence of a decent political economy would have made such unsanitary conditions impossible long ago. To the average American who has not with Mr. Mallock seriously addressed himself to asking whether life is, in any event, worth the living, there is something uncompromisingly brutal in the ordinary English regard for the Malthusian doctrine which declares with approbation that "Pestilence is a great check to the growing excess of population," and which made it necessary for Sir Edwin Chadwick (in an address before the Society of Arts, recorded in the journal of that

society, Sept. 7, 1888) to seriously answer objections to saving lives by sanitation, by saying that "Pestilence is attended by a rapid augmentation of births, and does not reduce the population." It would seem, then, that the curse of living is not mitigated by pestilence. The high mortality rates are with the children of the poor, most of whom die from scarlatina, measles, typhus, and diphtheria. In the children's hospitals in London there are no deaths whatever from these maladies.

It is needless to multiply facts that are open to all. We have seen something of the technical nature of the health problem, and something of what has been and what is possible in the way of accomplishment. Although we are not likely to find the fountain of youth, or the *elixir vite*, or the ageless river of olden dreams, we have found that it is possible in a very prosaic and scientific and political way to stamp infectious, possibly contagious, diseases practically out of the world. We have seen enough, moreover, to warrant the conclusion that the only adequate defence, to fall back upon the more modest wish of saving our nation before the plague-spots of the world, is in a concerted and national defence. The first great need is in the education of public opinion. A step has been taken toward this in the compulsory study of hygiene in the public schools. Another might be in establishing a national health laboratory, with as complete an endowment as West Point Military Academy, a certain sum of money to be set aside for rewards and medals for original research and discovery, another adequate sum to be distributed in a great system of annual prizes for the best essays on public-health problems in the high schools. When public opinion will tolerate the idea of systematically preserving the nation's life and health, the matter must be lifted out of the realm of private effort, and made a question of politics. The task of the postponement of death for a few years for all of us and for all of our friends and the remainder of the people, and of increasing the vitality, happiness, and soundness of all, of procuring the utmost possible immunity from disease and its interruptions, is a task well worth the consideration of statesmen.

"As sanitary laws and sanitary administration," says a celebrated English physician, "mean to me laws and administration for the saving and strengthening of human life, so the worth which they have or promise in outcome of that sort is the only worth I have cared to measure in them. . . . This is the province where medicine joins hands with common-sense, and I appeal to common-sense for its recognition." Here is the whole point. It is a question of national common-sense. The very nature of the micro-organism which is the cause of disease, from toothache to typhus fever, shows the utter inadequacy of any

individualist, "every-fellow-for-himself" theory of defence. An impenetrable and completely organized system is the only possible one which can fulfil the promises of sanitary science. An imaginary example will illustrate. A person may say (Mr. Herbert Spencer, perhaps, who believes in *laissez-faire* sanitation): "I am not afraid. I keep my own plumbing intact, and my own yard clean." But his neighbor keeps a swinery in his garden and a miasmatic frog-pond, perhaps a cesspool, near by. What happens? This neighbor, who does not believe in sanitation as much as he believes in frogs' legs and swine, is bound to breed an army of poisonous and savage microbes which will some day, perhaps, weeping for more worlds to conquer, make up their minds to migrate. They may take passage on those curious little air ships they contrive to have and set sail with the propitious breeze. They may mount the back of some dog or cat lounging near the stagnating waters. They may "book" with the poultry and find protection under the shadow of their wing. Or, less ambitiously, they may take emigrant passage with flies and fleas and lice and ticks, and in turn parasitically preying on those parasites, these venomous micro-anarchists, "red in tooth and claw," oblivious of Mr. Herbert Spencer's fences, and sceptical of municipal laws and boundaries, will fall upon the innocent like thieves in the night, for bacilli fall alike upon the just and the unjust.

Laissez-faire is the paltriest of all philosophies in sanitation—as in anything else. Current history is just now illustrating the principle. The warships of civilization are anchored outside the Chinese harbors watching the illustration, and the world is breathless over the end of the conflict of two methods—two spirits. China exhibits the weakness of disintegration, lawlessness, anarchy, *laissez-faire* reduced to its lowest terms. In Japan there is unity and organization, socialization, an organic national life. What is the result? Japan is a spade; China is a soft soil. The spade is pushed further in with the utmost ease. The spade will turn the reeking earth upside down, and perhaps something worthy will grow upon this old manure heap.

An instance of *laissez-faire* in sanitation is given by Havelock Ellis, in Russia. He describes the fearful condition of the country, and says it is wholly due to the lack of state interest and state control of those forces which make for national health. There is no public opinion concerning health. There is only one physician (bad as he is) in every 12,000 population, and during the prevalence of plagues these physicians are turned out of the villages or are superstitiously kerosened, turned into the fire, and burned. Towns and villages are destitute of all sanitary provisions, and are putrid, stinking festers on the land. There

is not a sewer in St. Petersburg to this day. The death-rate of the Russian army is three times higher than that of the German army. Once, however, having lost 20,000 in St. Petersburg alone, from cholera, by applying some of the simple precautions used by the English board of health, they succeeded in reducing the mortality of this dread disease seventy-five per cent. The death-rate of the German army is reduced to five per thousand, less than one-half that of the civil population of the same ages, showing the superior effectiveness of organized sanitation, which of course it is possible to institute only by national legislation.

It would seem that politicians would seriously concern themselves with all problems of public health, for they are of the people themselves, and there is perhaps one question of greater importance than filling their own pockets, and that is, saving their own lives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SANITATION, COMPILED BY THOMAS E. WILL.

Current Literature.

- Sanitary Administration in Paris. *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 24:296.
- Sanitary Agencies, Natural. *Chambers's Journal*, 7:290. Same article, *Living Age*, 14:220.
- Sanitary Agents, Natural. *Chambers's Journal*, 70:554 (Ag 26).
- Sanitary Aid of the Poor. (R. Marryat) *Nineteenth Century*, 15:840.
- Sanitary Arrangements of House Inspecting and Testing of. (J. P. Spencer) *American Architect*, 16:115.
- Sanitary Arrangements, Domestic. (R. Rawlinson) *Fraser's Magazine*, 86:775. *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 21:32.
- Sanitary Care and Utilization of Refuse of Cities. (J. J. Stover) *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, 97:48. — (C. A. Leas) *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, 97:206. — (C. A. Leas) *Practical Magazine*, 3:325.
- Sanitary Centralization. *Quarterly Review*, 88:435.
- Sanitary Commission and Health of the Metropolis. *Fraser's Magazine*, 36:305.
- Sanitary Condition of Cities. (S. G. Young) *American Architect*, 22:218.
- Sanitary Condition of Laboring Classes. *Quarterly Review*, 71:417.
- of Paris, Vuillot on. *Fraser's Magazine*, 75:370.
- Sanitary Conference at Rome, 1885, International. *Nature*, 32:217; 33:25. — (G. M. Sternberg) *Science*, 6:101.
- Sanitary Construction of Dwelling Houses. (W. H. Corfield) *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 22:177,281.
- Sanitary Defects in Houses. *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 30:140.
- Sanitary Engineering. (D. Galton) *American Architect*, 12:231. — (G. E. Waring, Jr.) *American Architect*, 1:5, 227. — *Nature*, 19:1. — (D. Galton) *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 22:128.
- Modern. (W. P. Trowbridge) *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 68:756.
- for 1874. *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 12:356.
- Latham on. *American Architect*, 5:76.
- Uniformity in. *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 19:308.

- Sanitary Examination of Water and Air. (R. Hitchcock) *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, 114:377.
- Sanitary Fallacies. (W. H. Corfield) *Eclectic Engineering Magazines*, 22:28.
- Sanitary House Inspection, Guide to, Gerhard's. *American Architect*, 18:247.
- Sanitary Houses. (C. H. Townsend) *American Architect*, 20:163.
- Sanitary Improvement, Waste of Power in. (F. R. Conder) *Fraser's Magazine*, 93:506.
- Sanitary Improvements. *Hogg's Instructor*, 6:79.
- Sanitary Inspection in Chicago, Results of. (E. W. Bemis) *Nation*, 44:230.
- of Houses. (W. K. Burton) *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 31:178.
- Sanitary Knowledge, Diffusion of. (Gen. Synge) *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 21:105.
- Sanitary Laws. *Fraser's Magazine*, 38:444.
- Sanitary Legislation. (B. Lee) *Penn Monthly*, 9:417.
- and Homes of the Poor. (G. W. Child) *Contemporary Review*, 32:297.
- Lord Morpeth's Bill. *Howitt's Journal*, 1:212.
- in England, Results of. *British Almanac Companion*, 59:40.
- since 1875. (G. N. Calkins) *American Statistical Association*, 2:297.
- Sanitary Measures. (J. P. Harrison) *British Almanac Companion*, 75:111.
- Sanitary Millennium. *Journal of Science*, 17:701.
- Sanitary Operations in Europe, 1868. (L. H. Steiner) *Mercersburg Review*, 15:420.
- Sanitary Plumbing. (J. Fee) *Kansas City Review*, 8:605.
- Sanitary Progress. (B. W. Richardson) *American Architect*, 15:190.— *Nature*, 8:517.
- in England. *Edinburgh Review*, 173:65.
- in India. (D. Galton) *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 24:519.
- in New York City. (C. F. Wingate) *Engineering Magazine*, 3:316.
- Vital Steps in. (B. W. Richardson) *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 32:454.
- Sanitary Question. *Fraser's Magazine*, 36:366.
- Sanitary Reform. (S. Barber) *Journal of Science*, 21:79. — *Edinburgh Review*, 91:210. — (E. H. Chase) *North American Review*, 73:117. — *British Quarterly Review*, 9:41. — *Chambers's Journal*, 41:436; 48:774. — *Eclectic Review*, 97:345. — *Practical Magazine*, 5:112; 6:268. — *Dublin Review*, 25:117.
- and its Vagaries. *Journal of Science*, 18:474.
- Limits of. *Journal of Science*, 22:149.
- in the United States. (A. R. Leeds) *Journal of Science*, 16:49.
- Progress of during Reign of Victoria. (D. Galton) *Nature*, 35:160.
- Recent. *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 35:292. — *Nature*, 34:196.
- Water Supply. (R. A. Arnold) *Fortnightly Review*, 3:607.
- Sanitary Report of Massachusetts. (C. Brooks) *Christian Examiner*, 50:381.
- Sanitary Science. *Science*, 10:218. — (R. Rawlinson) *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 20:168.
- and Civil Architecture. (E. C. Robins) *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 24:157.

- Sanitary Science, Applied. (J. R. Black) *Popular Science Monthly*, 2:665.
- Future of. (B. W. Richardson) *Nature*, 16:184. Same article, *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 17:328.
- in Massachusetts, Progress in. (G. W. Fuller) *Science*, 2:273 (Ag 11).
- in New Jersey. *Science*, 9:444.
- in Schools. (A. D. White) *Popular Science Monthly*, 4:421.
- in the United States. (A. R. Leeds) *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 20:6.
- Modern. (B. W. Richardson) *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 14:31.
- Popular Instruction in. (J. J. Pope) *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 27:320.
- Progress and Influence of. *National Quarterly Review*, 16:257.
- Revelations of. (E. C. Robins) *American Architect*, 10:147. — *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 25:505.
- Sanitary State of the People of England. *Fraser's Magazine*, 58:614.
- of Town Dwellings. *British Almanac Companion*, 55:47.
- Sanitary Study of Life. (B. W. Richardson) *Eclectic Magazine*, 111:508.
- Sanitary Training in Public Schools. (A. W. Leighton) *New Englander*, 44:185.
- Sanitary Work in Great Disasters. (G. G. Groff) *Popular Science Monthly*, 37:459.
- Sanitation. *Nature*, 26:576.
- and Education. (J. Eaton) *Education*, 2:1.
- and Science. *Science*, 6:21.
- Autumn. *Nature*, 28:458.
- Bauner's System of. (H. C. Seddon) *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 14:499.
- Economy in. (D. Galton) *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 31:575.
- House, Sanitary Congress on. *Nature*, 28:564.
- Hughes's System. *American Architect*, 21:213.
- in Relation to the Poor. (W. H. Welch) *Charities Review*, 2:203 (F).
- Municipal Effects in American Cities. (J. S. Billings) *Forum*, 15:304 (My).
- in New York and Brooklyn. (J. S. Billings) *Forum*, 16:346 (N).
- in Washington and Baltimore. (J. S. Billings) *Forum*, 15:727 (Ag).
- Abstracts to. (R. Brewer) *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 24:654.
- Progress of. (E. Chadwick) *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 33:1029.
- Hygiene. *Spectator*, 67:528.
- Hygiene, Address on, 1881. (W. Channing) *American Journal of Social Science*, 14:164.
- 1882. (W. Channing) *American Journal of Social Science*, 16:18.
- and Higher Education of Women. (A. H. Bennett) *Popular Science Monthly*, 16:519.
- and Municipal Government. (S. G. Young) *American Architect*, 15:160.
- and Public Health. *American Architect*, 6:115, 130, 163.
- Buck on. (B. G. Wilder) *Nation*, 29:260.
- as a Basis of Morals. (F. E. White) *Popular Science Monthly*, 31:67.
- Literature of. (F. Bacon) *Nation*, 8:392.
- of Air and Water. *Nature*, 7:318,

Hygiene of Water. *National Quarterly Review*, 40:67.

—Social. (K. Georgi) *Public Opinion*, 14:283 (D 24).

Hygienic Influence of Forest Air and Forest Soil. (B. E. Fernow) *Garden and Forest*, 6:34 (Ja 18).

Hygienic Precepts. *All the Year Round*, 36:224.

Hygienic Science, Growth of. (Professor De Chaumont) *Popular Science Monthly*, 23:658.

For books, reports, periodicals, documents, etc., relating to Sanitation and Hygiene, see Bulletin of Boston Public Library for July, 1894. This publication contains 131 closely printed pages of bibliography, and can be had by citizens of Boston at three cents a copy. To all persons not citizens of Boston the price for the bulletin per year is \$1, without any reduction for single numbers.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

A SKETCH WRITTEN FOR A PURPOSE.*

BY JOHN DAVIS.

CHAPTER II.

The French Revolution.

I have described the seed and the soil from which sprang the child Napoleon Bonaparte; and I have shown that the full-grown man was the natural and reasonable outgrowth of the child. I must now indicate on a larger scale the climate and soil which has given us the record and fruitage as related in history. Whatever may be the qualities of the sprout when transplanted from the nursery, it will never become a tree producing extraordinary results, unless there are found for it suitable conditions for growth and mature development.

Early in the progress of that great struggle of humanity against despotism known as the French Revolution of 1789, the widow Bonaparte and family found themselves in the southern part of France as refugees from Corsica, in destitute circumstances. Thence they ultimately found their way to Paris as observers of the strange and tragic events taking place there. Napoleon had passed through the military schools of Brienne and Paris, and carried in his pocket an officer's commission. Though sorely in need of employment, he was somewhat particular as to what his work should be. Twice he was ordered to join the Army of the West, but in both cases he found excuses to decline obedience. Then, armed with a physician's certificate as to ill health, he obtained a furlough, and he demanded and collected mileage for travelling from Nice to Paris, claiming that he had made the journey in obedience to an order to join the army; which order, as the facts show, he had twice failed to obey. Up to that date his record had been true to his birth and bringing up. As a military officer he had

* Copyrighted January, 1895, by John Davis.

twice failed to obey orders, for which acts of insubordination he was afterwards stricken from the list of officers. As a business man he had collected money under false pretences, claiming to have travelled from Nice, when he had come from Marseilles, a shorter distance; and he had obtained the money before having obeyed any order.

When, however, one party after another was continually succeeding to power, and the guillotine and the assassin's poniard or bullet were the principal arguments used, it was not for a man like Napoleon to be long idle. He first distinguished himself as an artillery officer at the siege of Toulon. The government of that city, aided by the English fleet, stood out stoutly against the revolution, but when a battery of artillery, arranged by the young Corsician, was posted on the heights commanding the city and harbor, the English evacuated the place and the town surrendered.

Some two years later, in 1795, when the revolutionary "sections" of Paris resolved to attack and disperse the Convention, the assistance of the hero of Toulon was invited. He at once showed so much skill and energy in the management of his defences that the sections were defeated with great slaughter and the Convention was victorious. Napoleon had taken lessons of Robespierre but had far surpassed his tutor. He had no use for the slow processes of the guillotine; the thunder and the carnage of cannon were far more effective in the line of knockdown arguments. From the day of the sections, Oct. 5, 1795, the revolution was in the hands of Napoleon, and the Convention itself was gradually moulded to his will.

Napoleon being master of the situation, let us make a note of affairs. We behold a transcendent military genius, utterly unscrupulous as to ways and means, at the helm. What can he do? The answer to that question depends on conditions and circumstances—on the means at his disposal and on the field of his operations. His means are the power and resources of France. His field is Europe or as much of it as he can occupy, and all western and central Asia if he can realize the daily and nightly dreams of his ambition.

Prior to the appearance of Napoleon as the master of France, the revolution had prepared the stage for the actor. That is easily said, and easily explained and proved. But how and why came the revolution? It came as the result of the unbearable tyranny, the costly licentiousness and corruption, of the king and court; of the merciless oppression of the people by the house of Bourbon, the rich nobles,

and the clergy of the church of France. The lands of the kingdom had been monopolized by the rich nobles and the clergy. Great estates were held as game preserves and the people were disinherited. The finances of the kingdom were embarrassed, and the over-taxed people, unable to find employment or to utilize the lands in order to gain subsistence, were literally starving to death, as many thousands are now starving in this country; and they were bidden by their unfeeling oppressors to "eat grass."

The following letter written by Thomas Jefferson from Fontainebleau, France, to James Madison, only four years before the beginning of the revolution, throws a flood of light on the situation:

Fontainebleau, France, October 28, 1785.

I set out yesterday morning to take a view of this place (Fontainebleau). For this purpose I shaped my course toward the highest of the mountains in sight, to the top of which was about a league. As soon as I had got clear of the town, I fell in with a poor woman walking at the same rate with myself and going the same course. Wishing to know the condition of the laboring poor I entered into conversation with her, which I began by inquiries for the path which would lead me into the mountain, and hence proceeded to inquiries into her vocation, condition, and circumstances. She told me she was a day-laborer, at eight sous, or four pence sterling, the day; that she had two children to maintain and to pay a rent of thirty livres for her house (which would consume the hire of seventy-five days); that often she could get no employment, and of course, was without bread. As we had walked together nearly a mile and she had so far served me as a guide, I gave her on parting twenty-four sous. She burst into tears of gratitude, which I could perceive was unfeigned, because she was unable to utter a word. She had probably never before received so great an aid. This little *attendrissement*, with the solitude of my walk, led me into a train of reflections on that unequal division of property which occasions the numberless instances of wretchedness which I had observed in this country, and is to be observed all over Europe.

The property of this country is absolutely concentrated in a very few hands, having revenues of from half a million of guineas a year downward. These employ the flower of the country as servants. They employ also a great number of manufacturers and tradesmen, and, lastly, the class of laboring husbandmen; but after all these comes the most numerous of all classes, that is, the poor who cannot find work. I asked myself what would be the reason that so many should be permitted to beg, who are willing to work in a country where there is a very considerable portion of uncultivated lands. These lands are kept idle mostly for the sake of game. It should seem, then, that it must be because of the enormous wealth of the proprietors, which places them above attention to the increase of their revenues by permitting these lands to be labored. I am conscious that an equal division of property is impracticable; but the consequence of this enormous inequality producing so much misery to the bulk of mankind, legislators cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property, only taking care to let their subdivisions go hand in hand with the natural affections of the human

mind. The descent of property of every kind, therefore, to all the children, or to all the brothers and sisters or other relations, in equal degree, is a politic measure and a practicable one.

Another means of silently lessening the inequality of property is to except all from taxation below a certain point, and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise. Wherever there are in any country uncultivated lands and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right. The earth is given as a common stock for man to labor on; if, for the encouragement of industry, we allow it to be appropriated, we must take care that other employment be furnished to those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not, the fundamental right to labor on the earth returns to the unemployed. It is too soon yet in our country to say that every man who cannot find employment, but who can find uncultivated land, shall be at liberty to cultivate it, paying a moderate rent; but it is not too soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The small landholders are the most precious part of a state.—Bancroft's *History of the Constitution* (unabridged), pages 463-465.

De Puy, in his "History of Napoleon Bonaparte," speaking of the condition of the people of France prior to the revolution, says:

All the burdens of the state fell on the industrious and productive classes. The nobility and clergy were exempt from taxation. The most oppressive mode of collecting prevailed. Two-thirds of the whole land of the country was in the possession of the nobility and clergy, who, not content with their fiscal exemption, imposed upon the cultivators feudal dues and services of the most onerous and harassing description. The right of killing game was reserved to the landlords; and tenants were even forbidden, by special edicts, to till the ground or reap the crops if the preservation of young broods might be thereby endangered. Game of the most destructive kind, such as wild boars and herds of deer, was permitted to run at large through extensive districts, without any enclosures to protect the crops (p. 21).

It is stated that hoeing and weeding, the mowing of grass, and the removal of stubble were prohibited, lest the eggs of birds should be destroyed or the young birds should be deprived of shelter. Certain kinds of manure were forbidden, lest the flavor of the game should be injured. And local courts were everywhere established to enforce these galling and degrading laws. Similar humiliations and burdens were also imposed on the people of the towns. As a matter of course, agriculture and the general industries of the nation were in the rudest condition, and the most abject poverty and distress prevailed everywhere.

Superficial thinkers claim that it was the atheistic writings and teachings of the French philosophers which produced the revolution of 1789. But on mature consideration it will be seen that it was the political and spiritual despotisms of the Bourbons, the nobility, and the clergy which

produced both the atheism of the times and the revolution. People never rebel against their teachers and rulers for amusement. They seldom attempt to right their wrongs while the wrongs are endurable. So true is this that Mr. Jefferson placed it in our American Declaration of Independence, and our fathers had the wisdom to embalm it there.

James Anthony Froude, an English writer of prominence, who was never suspected of having much sympathy for the common people, in his sketch of Julius Caesar, said:

Patricians and plebeians, aristocrats and democrats, have alike stained their hands in blood in working out the problem of politics. But impartial history declares, also, that the crimes of the popular party have in all ages been the lighter in degree, while in themselves they have more to excuse them; and if the violent acts of revolutionists have been held up more conspicuously for condemnation, it has been only because the fate of noblemen and gentlemen has been more impressive to the imagination than the fate of the peasant or artisan. But the endurance of the inequalities of life by the poor is the marvel of human society. When the people complain, said Mirabeau, the people are always right. The popular cause has been the cause of the laborer struggling for a right to live and breathe, and think as a man. Aristocrats fight for wealth and power; wealth which they waste upon luxury, and power which they abuse for their own interests (p. 67).

The above testimony seems to indicate as a general fact, that the greatest dangers to government usually come from the men and classes of great wealth; from the patrician class, rather than from the plebeians; from great wealth in few hands, rather than from the alleged ignorance of the common people.

The late Charles Dickens, one of the best judges of the laws and forces which govern society, setting forth, in his "Tale of Two Cities," the causes which produced the French Revolution, drew the following picture of the tumbrils carrying their daily grist to the guillotine:

Along the Paris streets the death carts rumble, hollow and harsh. Six tumbrils carry the day's wine to La Guillotine. All the devouring and insatiate monsters imagined since imagination could record itself, are fused in the one realization, guillotine. And yet there is not in France, with its rich variety of soil and climate, a blade, a leaf, a root, a sprig, a peppercorn, which will grow to maturity under conditions more certain than those that have produced this horror. Crush humanity out of shape once more, under similar hammers, and it will twist itself into the same tortured forms. Sow the same seed of rapacious license and oppression over again, and it will surely yield the same fruit according to its kind.

Six tumbrils roll along the streets. Change these back again to what they were, thou powerful enchanter, Time, and they shall be seen to be the carriages of absolute monarchs, the equipages of

feudal nobles, the tollets of flaring Jezebels, the churches that are not my Father's house but dens of thieves, the huts of millions of starving peasants! No, the great magician who majestically works out the appointed order of the Creator never reverses his transformations. "If thou be changed into this shape by the will of God," say the seers to the enchanted, in the wise Arabian stories, "then remain so! But if thou wear this form through mere passing conjuration, then resume thy former aspect!" Changeless and hopeless the tumbrils roll along.

As the sombre wheels of the six carts go round, they seem to plow up a long, crooked furrow among the populace of the streets. Ridges of faces are thrown to this side and to that, and the plows go steadily onward. So used are the regular inhabitants of the houses to the spectacle, that in many windows there are no people, and in some the occupations of the hands are not so much as suspended, while the eyes survey the faces in the tumbrils. Here and there the inmate has visitors to see the sight; then he points his finger, with something of the complacency of a curator or authorized exponent, to this cart and to this, and seems to tell who sat here yesterday, and who the day before.

Of the riders in the tumbrils, some observe these things, and all things on their last roadside, with an impassive stare; others, with a lingering interest in the ways of life and men. Some, seated with drooping heads, are sunk in silent despair; again, there are some so heedful of their looks that they cast upon the multitude such glances as they have seen in theatres and in pictures. Several close their eyes and think, or try to get their straying thoughts together. Only one, and he a miserable creature of a crazed aspect, is so shattered and made drunk by horror that he sings and tries to dance. Not one of the whole number appeals, by look or gesture, to the pity of the people.

Let us as Americans suggest a single query, and draw from it a single lesson: If monarchs, and nobles, and Jezebels, and churches without God, in France, produced the revolution and the guillotine, what may we not expect from the merciless railroad kings, rapacious Shylocks, trusts, stock gamblers, land-grabbers, money contractionists, usury-takers and *godless churches* that are driving to desperation the millions of robbed, homeless and suffering people of America? "The great magician who majestically works out the appointed order of the Creator never reverses his transformations!" Neither does he change his plans! Americans should study the lessons of history.

It is to little purpose that we study history if we do it only at a distance and make no applications of its truths and principles to our home institutions. The same causes under similar conditions everywhere produce similar results. A close and impartial examination of the facts and lessons of the past will prove that the most dangerous class in a civilized community is the great millionaire class, those full-handed pirates and vultures of society who buy up legislatures, corrupt courts of justice, and employ attor-

neys, senators and congressmen to do their bidding; who attack and undermine the very foundation-principles of free government. This is no new question. The readers of Roman history will especially recognize the truth of the testimony here introduced.

Men acquire property mostly in three ways; by their earnings, by inheritance and by theft. A man with a million dollars has not earned so much; then, if he has not inherited it, some of it has most likely been stolen, through the forms of law or otherwise. And if stolen, then somebody or some class in society must have suffered loss. Hence, in every large society, where we find the dangerously rich, we also find the suffering and dangerously poor. That is, where we find the robber class, we must expect also to find the robbed.

In a little book written a few years ago, by Rev. Josiah Strong, of Cincinnati, and published by the American Home Missionary Society, New York, the writer says:

A list of Mr. Vanderbilt's stocks, bonds, and securities makes his aggregate wealth a little over \$200,000,000. The assessed valuation of the aggregate property, real and personal, of four great states of the Union, having a territory of nearly 350,000 square miles, falls short of this one fortune by several millions of dollars. And there are fourteen states which separately return less property, real and personal, than this modern Midas. He owns 1-218th of the wealth of the nation. Superfluity on the one hand, and dire want on the other—the millionaire and the tramp—are the complement of each other. The classes from which we have most to fear are the two extremes of society—the dangerously rich and the dangerously poor; and the former are much more to be feared than the latter.

Testimony of this sort, coming from the highest authority, ought to have great weight among thinking men. In making this one piratical millionaire, many thousands of men and women have been *robbed* of their just earnings. Many of them have been reduced to the sorest distresses, some have been driven to suicide, and others have lost courage and have gone forth as tramps and dangerous marauders and burdens upon society.

In an able article by Chancellor Howard Crosby, in the *North American Review* for April, 1883, we find the "Dangerous Classes" in America pretty fully discussed. Chancellor Crosby says:

We have seen in our own country what a power for evil these debased classes are, in the riots of 1877. New York city saw these wild forces at work in 1863. History will ever point, as to one of her most conspicuous pages, to the reign of terror in France, where the fierce passions of men who were the nearest the brute made havoc with all that was beautiful, or orderly, or good. But he whose mind rests

upon these lower classes as the cause of these horrors is no philosopher. He is content with a superficial view. A philosophical analysis of the explosions of the populace which have so often desolated neighborhods and nations would reveal a series of causes leading far away from the populace itself. In ancient Greece, the revolutions which established the democracies were movements of the lowest classes of the people; but before these risings, we find in many instances the tyrannical oppression of a despot and his court, which, to-day, would be styled a "ring." It was the long period of fearful oppression in France, represented by the selfish and voluptuous courts of Louis XIV and Louis XV, during which the peasant was but a beast of burden or a tool of greed, which produced the reaction of the Revolution. Gunpowder is innocent until you ignite it. The lowest classes can be perilous to the state at large only as they are turned into insurrectionary channels by the gross injustice of the higher classes. . . .

The danger which threatens the uprooting of society, the demolition of civil institutions, the destruction of liberty, and the desolation of all, is that which comes from the rich and powerful classes in the community. What we have to fear are the encroachments of these influential elements upon the rights of the people, until, under a sense of oppression, the people, who are naturally timid and slow to act in organization, are forced into united resistance, which necessarily (from the constitution of the masses) becomes destructive to civilization and social well-being. . . . The form in which danger threatens us is that of units of vast money power. . . . It is by the growing power of this class of tyrants that our country's safety is now threatened. And the danger will come in two forms: the demoralization of society, and the sanguinary vengeance of the oppressed. The morals of a community work downward from the higher classes. Like priest, like people. Corrupt the praetorium and you corrupt the empire. . . .

Besides the moral desolation caused by the aggregation of wealth in few hands, the political safety of the country is especially endangered. The making and maintaining of this concentrated wealth demands a system of plunder and oppression of the poorer classes and of the public generally. Prices are made, not through the natural laws of demand and supply, but by "corners" and conspiracies. Fair competition, which is the life of trade, is utterly crushed by the giant foot of the money-swollen monster. . . . The sense of oppression becomes deeper and stronger. They [the people] begin to learn that their reform leaders are bought up by the money power, and that the so-called reforms are but tubs to the whale. They see that only violent measures can relieve them, and a common feeling of revenge unites them.

Now comes the catastrophe. At the first stroke they find themselves a power, and when men first discover their power they are reckless how they use it. They carry destruction on every side. They revel in slaughter. They waste property. They burn dwellings. They overturn all institutions. They paralyze trade. They annihilate society. The tyranny of the money units has accomplished what nothing but tyranny can accomplish—the united action of a heterogeneous and naturally unorganized populace. It has raised a spirit of evil which it cannot allay. It has unchained the tiger and whetted his appetite for blood.

These must not be considered as exaggerated prophecies. History shows that we are sober in our statements. The community cannot

be plundered forever; combinations of capitalists and legislators to rob the poor for the benefit of the rich will eventually meet with counter combinations which will not confine themselves to robbery. This is human nature as well as history. The present peril of our country is exactly here. The dangerous classes among us are those who are engaged in amassing colossal fortunes, the giants who tread ordinary men under their heel and care not how much the people suffer.

No man should be allowed to lord it over the destinies of the land: no man should be allowed to hold sway over the highways of the nation in an irresponsible absolutism. There must be a limit to individual wealth if we are to be preserved as a republic. Then corporate wealth should be under strict supervision and its management subject to just governmental control. Furthermore, the wages of the laborer should be secured to him for a year at a time, as in the case of a salaried officer, to be forfeited only for such misconduct as the courts would recognize. Severest penalties should be adjudged for the avoidance of tax-paying, and bribery should be punished by permanent loss of citizenship and ten years' imprisonment.

On another occasion, in the *Christian Union*, Chancellor Crosby said:

The great estates of Rome in the time of the Cæsars, and of France in the time of the Bourbons, rivalled those of the United States today: but both nations were on their way to the frenzy of revolution, not in spite of their wealth, but, in some true sense, because of it.

A few years ago occurred what has been widely known as the great southwest railroad strike. One of the storm centres of that strike was East St. Louis. The railroad corporation desired troops to coerce the men into obedience. As the troops were not sent on first call, the officers of the corporation advertised for men to act as deputy sheriffs. Men came from other states and were employed at high wages as deputy sheriffs. In Illinois, it will be noted, men from other states are not eligible to the office of sheriff; yet the lawless corporation so employed them in great numbers, and innocent people in no way connected with the strike were shot, wounded, and killed by those unlawful deputies. Let us examine this ominous case with some care.

In order to be eligible to the office of sheriff in East St. Louis a candidate must be a lawful resident of St. Clair county, Illinois. That county has a population of 60,000 people. It did not suit the purposes of the railroad corporation that citizens of the vicinage, who understood the quarrel between them and their men, should act as sheriffs; hence "men who seem to have come from other states," in the pay of the corporation, were appointed as deputies! Not one of these men was eligible to the office of sheriff, yet as deputies they were called upon to fire upon a crowd, and six or eight persons were killed or wounded. Governor

Oglesby, in his message, considered the firing on that crowd by the hired deputies of the corporation as unlawful and monstrous. In the same message he said:

The many signs of willingness of a large portion of our people, especially of incorporated wealth, to impatiently demand the use of the militia in all cases of threatened or real violence, without an effort to secure the protection of the law through the civil forms and procedure provided by law, is an unpleasant augury and one to be constantly watched by the ardent friends of constitutional liberty. And the fact that such incorporated wealth can command a part of the press of our country to malign, misrepresent, and aim to intimidate any who feel it a solemn duty to execute law by observing law, is a potent indication of no common evil!

Another case of some note occurred in New Jersey. I mention it as an exponent of hundreds of others too numerous to be here discussed. It is so much like the tragic events about Boston in 1775, which precipitated the American Revolution, that I ask special attention to it. The jeering of the Boston boys had the same effect on General Gage's British soldiers as the same annoyance by the Jersey City boys had on the corporation Pinkertons. The particulars are given in a press despatch dated at Jersey City, Jan. 20, 1887:

About 5 o'clock yesterday evening, while a party of boys were playing in an open lot adjoining the yards of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad company, Thomas Hogan, sixteen years of age, a looker-on, was shot and killed by one of the Pinkerton men. The boys were jeering at the Pinkerton men. At length the leader of the Pinkerton men stepped forward and ordered the boys to stop throwing missiles at them, and almost immediately three sharp cracks of a revolver rang out, and Hogan fell dead. The excitement was intense, and the onlookers fled in every direction.

The New York *Herald*, speaking of this catastrophe, said:

The Pinkerton men used their ready pistols recklessly yesterday, at the coal tracks in Jersey City, and an innocent boy was murdered. The victim was Thomas Hogan, a youth of sixteen years.

I think I have now shown by testimony which cannot be disputed that the greatest dangers to civilized government in general, and to free government in particular, must be looked for among the lawless units of great wealth and power, rather than among the masses of wealth-producers, who, in the language of the great Jefferson, "are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed." The great millionaires, of course, demur, and, true to their patrician instincts, would disfranchise the peacea-

ble, long-suffering proletariat, and leave to this class no redress for popular grievances except the methods of savagery.

Besides the general causes of the French revolution, there were numerous special causes of complaint on the part of the people. I will mention only some of them:

The punishments for crimes were most cruel, and were greatly disproportioned to the offences. Instruments of torture were in common use in order to compel witnesses to testify against the accused, and then to punish the victims when condemned. Numberless people all over the kingdom, without known crime, were arrested and imprisoned in the Bastille without trial or the privilege of being heard, and for the greater crimes actually committed, the cruelties of the punishments were dreadful to contemplate.

The historians tell us they can hardly bring their pens to describe the awful details of the sufferings of these unhappy times; but he who wishes to write or read the history of the French Revolution must steel his mind to the contemplation of scenes of horror; and before animadverting on the dreadful atrocities of the Reign of Terror, it is well to consider the barbarities of the ancient régime, to which they are in part at least to be ascribed. It is to the honor of the revolution that it put a stop, it is to be hoped forever, to these frightful barbarities, and amidst the innumerable crimes of its authors, "this at least is to be recorded to their praise, that they never reverted, except at first, and in the most vehement excitement, to those ancient cruelties."

Sir Archibald Alison, in his "History of Europe," describes the manner of breaking a victim on the wheel, but my readers, I know, will thank me for omitting the horrible details.

In contemplating the cruelties which were a potent cause of the French Revolution, American readers will call to mind with pain an imitation of them in America but recently, by the *hanging up by the thumbs* of a youthful militia private in Pennsylvania, by his commanding officer, because the thoughtless boy had expressed sympathy with the striking laborers whom he had been ordered to suppress and guard. Nor can the intelligent and humane American reader forget the torture by hunger and nakedness inflicted on the innocent people of Homestead, Penn., and of Pullman, Ill., because their millionaire employers thought proper to subject them to that species of "discipline." How

much alike is despotism in all countries and in all times when men are intrusted with irresponsible power!

Another cause of complaint in France was the very unequal manner of the administration of justice and the distribution of punishments for offences. It is stated that "Fortune, liberal presents, court favor, the smiles of a handsome wife, or promises of advancement to relations, sometimes swayed the decisions of the judges in the inferior tribunals" (Alison, vol. i, p. 201).

It was probably found about as difficult to convict a rich or influential criminal in France before the revolution as it is now in the United States; while a poor creature without money or friends found himself in prison or kicked out upon the streets to starve, in spite of his best efforts.

The French people also had their political grievances. All the public offices of honor, trust, or emolument fell to the lot of the king's favorites, without any discrimination in favor of merit or ability. And as to the profligate and corrupt court of Louis XV, it is easy to credit all that has been recorded in history. Alison says:

Corruption in its worst form had long tainted the manners of the court as well as the nobility, and poisoned the sources of influence. The favor of royal mistresses or the intrigues of the court openly disposed of the highest appointments, both in the army, the church, and the civil service. . . . The reign of Louis XV is the most deplorable in French history. If we seek for the characters who governed the age we must search the ante chambers of the Duke of Choiseul or the boudoirs of Mesdames Pompadour or Du Barri. The whole frame of society seemed to be decomposed. . . . All that we read in ancient historians, veiled in the decent obscurity of a learned language, of the orgies of ancient Babylon, was equalled, if not exceeded, by the nocturnal revels of the Regent Orleans, the Cardinal Dubois, and his other licentious associates. They would exceed belief if not narrated on the undoubted testimony of concurring witnesses (vol. i, p. 208).

In his "History of Napoleon Bonaparte," De Puy says:

Perhaps the world never saw, since the days of Sardanapalus, a court so corrupt, a nobility so profligate, and a state of society so utterly contemptuous of even the decent affectation of virtue, as existed in France from the reign of Louis XIV until the overthrow of Louis XVI. A succession of dissolute women ruled the king and controlled the deliberations of the cabinet; lower life was a slink of corruption; the whole was a romance of the most scandalous order. . . . Around the king was clustered a crowd of venal nobles, who contended for his favors with adulation and breathed only in the sunshine of his smiles. Wholly destitute of independence of spirit, these nobles were licentious and arrogant, fattening without shame on the spoils of the people, and priding themselves on the lineages they disgraced. . . . The clergy, too, shared in the general corruption. Their wealth was enormous, their luxury excessive and ostentatious; and all pretensions to superior sanctity or correctness of manners had long since

been abandoned. Indeed, many of the highest rank among them were preëminent for their licentiousness. Generally speaking, it might be said that for a long time the higher orders of the clergy had ceased to take a vital concern in their profession, or to exercise its functions in a manner which interested the feelings or affections of men. . . . Debauchery and blasphemy, selfishness and disregard of right in high places, had done their worst. Nothing short of miraculous interposition could have saved France from the legitimate consequences of its own unparalleled infamy (pp. 15-25).

A further reason, and a most tangible one, why the people of France became tired of Louis XV, was the expensiveness of his licentious luxuries. One hundred millions of francs (\$20,000,000) were spent on the royal seraglio alone; while five hundred millions of francs (\$100,000,000) had been added to the public debt "for expenses too ignominious to bear the light or to be even named in the public accounts." The amounts so expended were ten times greater in the reign of Louis XV than in that of Louis XIV.

Now, in view of these corruptions and scandals, committed by a king and a court who were the very head and front of the legally established French church of that time, I ask, were the philosophers of France the cause of the French Revolution? Surely not. Rather was it the despotism, the scandals, and the corruption of the king, the nobles, and the clergy that created the atheism of the philosophers, and drove them to join the revolution in defence of the people.

But the immediate and exciting cause of the first outbreak of the revolution was the condition of the finances. Louis XVI was a far better man than his predecessor, and seemed disposed to act somewhat fairly toward his subjects. But he was indolent and unreliable. He seemed utterly incapable of keeping his word or even his most solemn oath. Being unable to proceed further with the disordered state of his finances, he called the States General together. The representatives of the people had then a chance to be heard. They spoke mildly at first, but later on more and more boldly, until the revolution became a glowing furnace for the purification of the wrongs of the past.

Among the first of the evils to perish at the hands of the enraged people was the Bastille, the great national prison of France. It was stormed and taken by the revolutionists on July 14, 1789; and by order of the National Assembly that great historic stronghold of despotism and infamy was razed to the ground. At its fall all France breathed easier.

No more *lettres de cachet*, followed by the living death of the untried victims! It is estimated that a single prime minister of the king had been the means of lodging fifty thousand persons in the Bastile. Others, more moderate, place the number at twenty-five thousand. When we consider that these confinements in many cases meant death by torture or starvation, the atrocities of the old régime in the matter of deaths exceeded those of the guillotine during the Reign of Terror. The number of persons who perished by the guillotine is recorded at less than twenty thousand. So, view the matter in any light we please, the atrocities of the revolution during its worst times did not equal the cool, calculating cruelties of the former régime. And all must admit that the crimes of the revolutionists were far more excusable than those of the former despots.

The tyrants prior to the revolution wreaked their vengeance on the innocent people purely for the gratification of their caprices and passions. The revolutionists, though in a great degree actuated by the spirit of retaliation and revenge for past wrongs, acted in an equal or greater degree *in defence of the homes of the people*—in defence of their newly acquired lands, derived from the great estates of the nobles and clergy, which had been wrongfully held by them for centuries. The lands, having been confiscated by the revolutionists, had become public domain, and the people had bought them in small sub-divisions for use as homes. The titles to these lands depended on the success of the revolution and the absence of claimants. The guillotine was used to destroy all former landholders and their heirs, who might in after times, through some turn of fortune, become claimants to their confiscated estates. The old despots had no such justification for their needless and multiplied cruelties.

The Bastile and the guillotine stand side by side in history as the preëminent atrocities of the ancient and modern régimes in France prior to the advent of Napoleon. The Bastile immured and tortured its thousands; the guillotine killed, perhaps, a smaller number. The old prison was the more cruel of the two.

Vast crowds attended the workmen as the removal of the huge stones of the Bastile went on. The people seemed as if they would never weary of examining the dark vaults and gloomy corridors of that long-dreaded prison. The stone couches which had been worn down by their occupants, the huge rings to which chains had been attached,

and the frightful implements of ancient torture were surveyed with deepest interest. *

Up to the taking of the Bastile little blood had been shed by the revolutionists. The weak and treacherous king, Louis XVI, yielded before the storm. He made fair promises, but never scrupled to violate them. On July 14, 1790, the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastile, half a million people assembled in the Champ de Mars to witness the oath of the king to obey the constitution. La Fayette was there on a white charger, at the head of one hundred thousand soldiers. The king was solemnly sworn. Paris and all France were wild with joy. The revolution, almost bloodless, seemed ended. All trusted the oath of the king.

The king violated his oath. The betrayed and angry people could not be appeased. The quarrel was reopened. On January 25, 1793, the king lost his head. And during the Reign of Terror, blood flowed like red wine from the press of the horrible vintage. Then fell Robespierre; after his fall came the struggle between the sections and the Convention, in which Napoleon showed his masterly hand in such purpose that he soon became the ruler of the storm, in the character of a military hero and despot.

(To be continued.)

* After the destruction of the building the great iron key that had been used to lock its doors, and a small model of the fortress, were sent to President George Washington, and they may now be seen by visitors at Mount Vernon, in the north room of the old Washington residence.

HUMAN DESTINY.

BY W. E. MANLEY.

I prepare this paper particularly for those who accept Divine revelation, and are willing to believe any doctrine that can be fairly proved by its teachings, when interpreted by reason and common sense. With this view I am saved the necessity of extending this article by adducing the proofs of the existence of a God, the creator and governor of the universe, who is infinitely wise, powerful, and good; and that the Bible is a legitimate source of knowledge concerning the ultimate destiny of mankind.

All our conclusions concerning human destiny, aside from the Scriptures, are drawn from the acknowledged attributes of God—His wisdom, power, and goodness—and these being infinite, they afford a basis of reasoning for the most profound conclusions.

Before quoting the Scriptures, let us see what reason has to say of human destiny, in view of the character of God, the nature of man, and of the world in which we live. And let us come to the inquiry with a reverent and earnest spirit, as free as possible from prejudice, and with a mind open to conviction; for in this way only can we reasonably hope to arrive at the truth on this momentous and deeply interesting subject; and the truth is what we are seeking.

Did the reader ever seriously consider the nature and character of the world in which we live? its wise and beneficent adaptation to our nature and wants? how many sources of happiness and means of improvement are placed within our reach, inviting us to appropriate and use them? No rational man, with his eyes open to the light, can doubt for a moment that the great Creator made the world with a kind and benevolent regard for the happiness and improvement of the rational and accountable beings that were to inhabit it. We have no want, physical, moral, or intellectual, that is not here provided for. We have no faculty of body or soul that has not its appropriate sphere of action; and we have no faculty which does not, when legitimately and rightly employed, contribute to our happiness.

If we had no other proof of the divine care for us, this would be sufficient. But look where we will, in this wonderful world of ours, and we find ample and convincing proofs of the same fact. Let us look a moment at the solar system, and notice a few simple facts that are well known to most people. The sun, the only body capable of giving light and heat, is so placed as to dispense to the surrounding and dependent planets these necessary blessings without which no living thing could exist upon them. And these are made to turn on their axes, so as to give all sides of them a share of the indispensable light and heat from the central luminary. As it is with our planet, so doubtless it is with others—the day is long enough for its inhabitants to become weary with labor; and the night is long enough for the needed rest and sleep. No other body in the solar system could fill the office of the sun; nor could the sun do this if it were of any other size or in any other locality. Here we see design; and as Paley says, "Where there is design there must be a designer." In this case the designer is God. It may be added that every design of God is a benevolent design. This is demonstrated by the facts that have been stated concerning the solar system. And though God provides for all living creatures, it is very evident that "Man is His peculiar care."

Passing from what may seem one extreme to another, I will call the reader's attention, for a few moments, to the human body. The organs of the body are so located as to do us the best possible service. No alteration could be made in this regard without doing us harm. As the arms and lower limbs act only in one direction, as they stand related to the rest of the body, how important it is that the eyes are placed on the same side of the body, and high enough to overlook all the actions of these limbs! Without intelligence and goodness, it might have been otherwise. The eyes on the back of the head would have served us very poorly; nor would it have been much better had they been placed on the front side of the body, but down near the feet; and this might have been, if intelligence and goodness had not presided over our creation.

The importance of the eyes made it necessary that they should be well protected, and fill their office in the most comfortable and successful manner. To accomplish these objects they are placed as far back in the head as possible, in a bony socket, strongly made, with a lid in front, which lifts and shuts down at pleasure. The motions of the eye and lid are aided by lubrication; and all excess of fluids that

gather at times in the eye is carried off through an appropriate channel, one for each eye, so as not to disfigure the face. Here, too, is a good design; and the Designer is a good God, "who careth for us."

Again, our hands and arms are so made as to enable us to handle with convenience objects of all sizes within certain limits. We can take a pin or a needle between the thumb and finger, a larger thing in the hand, and a larger still in the arms; the eyes in the meantime holding the light for us. To guard against injury to the ends of the fingers, from the almost constant pressure against them, opposite to the pressure a hard plate is fastened on; and so the injury is prevented.

Finally (for I must be brief), to prevent anything hurtful from going into the stomach, four sentinels are placed, outside and in the mouth, that must be passed, and whose consent must be obtained before any article of food can gain admittance into that important receptacle. First, the eye, which can judge only from appearance, occupies the highest seat, and must first be consulted. If the applicant has a good look, he is allowed to pass on to the next station, the nose, where the olfactories stand guard. They have nothing to do with the looks; indeed, they have no eyes, and judge of the applicant only by the odor exhaled from his body. If this is agreeable, he passes to the third station, which is in the mouth. This sentinel is the tongue, which can judge only of the taste; the looks and the smell not coming under his jurisdiction. The taste being agreeable, another process must be submitted to, which is performed by the teeth, in order that nothing concealed should escape notice. This is terminated by a sudden plunge into the stomach. All this to guard us from harm.

It is important for us to know that nearly all the evils we suffer are the product of our own ignorance and folly. This being so, these evils can be cured; and the evident intention of Divine Providence is that they be cured by ourselves. And if we make proper exertions in this direction, the way will be made plain and divine aid granted to us. It is not a hard thing to do. The process is very simple. Let men cease to do evil, and evil will cease to be done. And when they see that the evils they do injure themselves, as well as others, and more than they do others, they will be apt to avoid them. Bad men seek for the pleasures of sin, which are chiefly imaginary; and so they fail to see and appreciate the evils of sin, which are real and lasting. The pleasures of sin are at best so short-lived,

and its "pains and penalties" are so severe and enduring that it is both foolish and demoralizing to speak seriously of these "pleasures," as is often done by ministers of the gospel, to the great injury of the cause of moral virtue.

Wars will cease their murderous work when the nations of the earth shall come to see that generally they are as destructive to the honor and virtue of those engaged in them as they are to life and property; and this is already beginning to be seen and understood. War can be prevented before entered upon, more easily and more honorably, in most cases, than it can be terminated after its ravages have commenced. It is astonishing how little influence the Christian doctrine of human brotherhood has had on the world, as evinced by the enormous expense incurred by civilized nations in preparing for these sanguinary conflicts.

All forms of disease will be prevented when men learn the laws of health and obey them; and both these things are no doubt practicable. Famines are unnecessary. Men have only to act in view of the simplest facts to prevent them; all seasons are not equally productive, and therefore provisions should be stored when the earth's products are abundant, and kept for those seasons that do not yield a full supply. The "store cities" are frequently alluded to in the Old Testament, and the use made of them was the same as that indicated above. And when they were adopted, the Israelites had no more need "to go down to Egypt to buy corn."

There are a few natural evils which cannot be prevented, such as earthquakes, tornadoes, floods, cyclones, etc. But these are not frequent, and in due time we shall understand them better than we do now, and can more effectually guard against them.

That men will sometime "cease to do evil and learn to do well" is a proposition that is favored by all we know of them and their history. Their desire for "happiness, our being's end and aim," will prompt them to seek it in the right way, namely, by means of a virtuous and righteous life. When it is generally understood that the only way to make the world happier is to make it better, the effort will become general to improve its condition by improving its morals. To promote its intelligence is one of the means of making it better and happier. Men must know the causes of their unhappiness before they can successfully remove them. Human society is capable of vast improvement. That it will be thus improved, the world over, is indicated

by the fact that much has been done already in this direction.

When we consider the attributes of God, and the capabilities of the human race, we feel perfectly assured that this improved condition will, in process of time, be reached. What the world is capable of becoming is a sure sign of what it will become. The only reason of which we can conceive why the Creator made men capable of a high and glorious destiny, is, that He designed them for it. As an infinitely good being He must will such a destiny for them; and as infinitely wise and powerful, He must be able to accomplish it. This reasoning is perfectly conclusive. Men are far from the destiny intended for them; but they are certainly on the road that leads to it, and must sometime reach the end.

In view of the foregoing argument, I confidently affirm that the world is moving in the direction of a grand and glorious destiny—a destiny, not of place, but of condition; not of where we are, but of what we are; not of environment, but of personality; not objective, but subjective. The movement of the world toward this grand consummation may not be apparent when we compare periods of history that are short and near together. Indeed, there may be brief periods, and even those of considerable length, when no progress is apparent—nay, when a retrograde movement seems to be made. But this last is probably more seeming than real. Let any intelligent man compare the present century with any like period before it, and he will be convinced that, unless appearances are very deceptive, the world is moving in the direction of a higher, nobler, and better state. Appearances seem to indicate that the present century has made exceptional progress. More valuable discoveries have been made, useful inventions found out, and improvements adopted, than in many centuries before.

At the same time it must be confessed that there are many serious and formidable evils connected with our social system, and growing out of it, that call aloud for their speedy removal. The discoveries and inventions of this century have produced a new social order, to which many of the people find it hard to adapt themselves. But these evils seem worse from the increased sensitiveness on the subject, from a growing consciousness of human brotherhood. The same evils in past ages would have created no such feeling. They will appear more and more distressing, till effective measures are devised for their removal. The intense feeling in regard to them is a sure sign that they will be speedily

removed in all civilized countries. And when they are removed, we shall all be astonished that they were allowed to remain so long, when their removal was so easily effected.

It would seem as if the subject has been sufficiently discussed, and that the time for action has come. Suppose no method of procedure has been devised that meets with universal approval; is this a valid reason for doing nothing, while men, women, and children (and even babes at the breast!) are starving, in sight of our comfortable and well-supplied homes, occupied by Christian people! Let something be done at once, and in earnest; and a method will develop itself, as in all new enterprises, and will improve with use, till it becomes as nearly perfect as anything that is human; and the wail of distress and anguish which now sounds so painfully in our ears will begin to subside, and in due time will be heard no more.

It is certain that poverty, intemperance, licentiousness, idleness, and all the other evils of which reformers complain, are in our hands and under our control, and therefore can be cured. And though some of them are kept in existence by men who are enriched by them, and are therefore hard to remove, they can and will be exterminated when the whole people are enlightened in respect to them, and direct their united energies against them; and this time is rapidly approaching.

From the few men who have made great advances in knowledge and virtue, who have been "bright and shining lights in the world," we naturally infer that all men can make the same or similar progress, in both morals and intelligence. It seems a just conclusion that such was the design at the beginning; and that it has been kept in view and encouraged all through the ages of human progress. Here it must be borne in mind that every advance of the world in knowledge and virtue contributes, in a corresponding degree, to the world's happiness. And there is an intimate relation between the happiness of man and the goodness of God. As a good being, God wills our happiness. This is the ultimate object. All else is a means to an end, the end being happiness. As infinitely good, He must will our greatest happiness—the greatest happiness of all and of each. If He would be content with less than this, He is not infinitely good. There is no escape from this conclusion. It rests on a foundation as firm as the Rocky Mountains, on which my eyes rest after writing the words above.

Another conclusion rests on a basis equally solid. It is that a God who is infinitely wise and powerful can do all

His pleasure. This argument makes it certain that a great and happy destiny awaits the human race. God wills it, and He is able to accomplish it. We now come to the Scriptures.

Human destiny is commonly denoted in the Scriptures by the term salvation, that is, salvation from sin. But it falls far short of expressing the fulness of human destiny, as the Scriptures reveal it to us. But taking the term for what it implies, as well as expresses, it does not come so far from the full meaning. Salvation from sin implies the opposite holiness. Human character does no more admit of a vacuum than the atmosphere around us. As sin goes out of a man, holiness goes in; and holiness implies a corresponding amount of happiness. The two are united by an indissoluble tie.

There is no authority for using the term salvation, for denoting human destiny, rather than a score of others, employed in a similar way, unless it is found in the name Jesus, which means Saviour, and was given before His birth by an angel, because He would "save His people from their sins." On this account, it may be, that this term is used more frequently than any other to denote the destiny of man; and it does indeed denote the most important part of the Saviour's mission. But as we advance we shall find other terms, and some important ones, employed in the same way.

It is an interesting circumstance that, as soon as sin entered into the world in the garden of Eden, the promise was given to our first parents that sin shall be destroyed. This is done in figurative language, but the meaning is very plain. "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head; but the serpent shall bruise his heel." The serpent was the tempter of Eve, and was the cause of sin; and when he is destroyed, sin will cease. To bruise the heel is to inflict a small injury; to bruise the head is to inflict death. The figure is taken from the ancient method of killing a serpent or snake, by treading on its head with the heel, when people wore no shoes, and little or nothing else on the feet. Of course, such a tread would bruise the heel, but crush the head. There can be no doubt that the serpent of Genesis is "the old serpent, the devil and Satan," of the book of Revelation. The author of Hebrews (ii. 14) says the devil is to be destroyed; and this proves that the above interpretation of bruising the serpent's head is correct.

The promise to Abraham, repeated to Isaac and Jacob, is that all the families, kindreds, and nations of the earth

shall be blessed in him and his seed (see Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxvi. 14, xxviii. 14). The apostle Peter, on the day of Pentecost, explained this promise as "turning away every one from his iniquities." Paul says that the seed of Abraham is Christ; and that He is to turn all men from their iniquities is asserted in a great variety of forms, which we shall see as we proceed.

I could go through the Jewish Scriptures, from Genesis to Malachi, and quote many passages relating to "the good time coming," when the Messiah would visit the earth, as the Jews believed, when peace and plenty should everywhere prevail; but there is a better way. What the old prophets taught on our subject can be learned from a single passage in the New Testament; and the two already noticed are sufficient for patriarchal times, when the prophets had not yet appeared. By this method a large amount of time and space will be saved, with no injury to the argument. The Apostle Peter is as good a witness as to what the prophets taught, on the subject under discussion, as the prophets themselves. I quote his words, "Whom the heaven must receive, until the times of the restoration of all things, whereof God spake by the mouth of His holy prophets, which have been since the world began" (Acts iii. 21).

I am unable to discover in what way this passage can be made to harmonize with any limited doctrine of restoration. And the passage is not less valuable for our purpose because it is the testimony of God, through the prophets, and not that of the prophets themselves. Peter believed that the prophets spake as God gave them His spirit. All things (*τα παντα*) is an expression that stands for the universe, and generally for the intelligent universe; and the word restoration is proof of the latter meaning here.

As I propose now to quote only from the New Testament, I will give the rest of the passages under separate and distinct heads.

1. The Parables of our Lord.—These may be divided into two classes, the intermediate and the ultimate. The first of these represents men as the righteous and the wicked, with no reference to their final state. The second class represents the same two characters; but these become one, namely, the righteous. If the first of these two classes of parables represents a final state, as they are commonly interpreted by men who assume to be theological experts, the second class would be excluded, and could have no meaning. To give both classes a place, the first must be intermediate, and the second ultimate.

The first class consists of such as the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the Faithful and Unfaithful Servants, the Sheep and Goats. These will serve as specimens. Most of the parables are of this sort. Those of the second class are the Leaven in the Meal, the Good Shepherd, the Lost Sheep, the Lost Piece of Money, the Prodigal Son. While the leaven is working in the meal, the two classes, the righteous and the wicked, are represented, the first by the leavened meal, and the last by the meal not leavened. When all the meal is leavened, there is but one class, the righteous. The Good Shepherd says, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them I must bring in; and there shall be one flock, one Shepherd." (One fold is a wrong rendering.) The sheep already in the fold are the righteous; the "other sheep," not gathered in, are the wicked. But when there is one flock and one Shepherd, there will be no wicked. In the parable of the lost sheep, the only sheep that was lost was found and restored to the fold; and then all were together, and not one was missing. The same of the lost piece of silver. The only prodigal son the father had returned from his wanderings; and the family is together. Whatever else these parables mean, they do mean that the lost was found; and this is all that has any bearing on our subject.

How the two classes of parables are harmonized will perhaps easily be inferred from what has been said; but a few words more may not be out of place. The first class precedes the second, and has its fulfilment in this world. The second follows the first, and carries the representation forward, till it ends in the one destiny of the race. It has been said that no doctrine can be proved by parables; that these may illustrate a doctrine, or even confirm the proofs derived from other sources, but that they must not be adduced as in themselves proofs. While I am not prepared to subscribe to this theory I am glad to know that I have other arguments, about to be introduced, that will probably be more satisfactory.

2. Those passages that relate to the mission of Jesus Christ.—These are too numerous to be all quoted. I will introduce only the most prominent ones, some of which will require a few words of comment, and others not. Jesus was so named for He would "save His people from their sins" (Matt. i. 26). When Jesus was born in Bethlehem, the angels proclaimed the news, as "glad tidings of great joy, which should be [such] to all people" (Luke ii. 10). Simeon in the temple quotes from Isaiah, that Jesus would be "a light to lighten the Gentiles, and a glory of the people

Israel" (Luke ii. 32); and that "all flesh shall see the salvation of God" (Luke iii. 6). These passages relate to the mission of the Messiah; but as they were addressed to Jews before the public ministry of Christ, they are probably to be applied after the Jewish fashion. With this view they relate to a grand and glorious future in this world, distinguished chiefly for its temporal blessings.

John the Baptist, standing on the banks of the Jordan, and seeing Jesus among the multitudes, cries aloud to the people, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world" (John i. 29). There is nothing here that is obscure or ambiguous. Jesus takes away sin by producing holiness in the place of it; and this is stated, at the beginning of His ministry, in the most comprehensive terms. It is interesting to observe how many forms of expression are employed to convey the idea of saving from sin—to take away sin, to put away, to turn away, to save from, etc.

"God sent not His Son into the world to judge the world; but that the world might be saved through Him" (John iii. 17). Jesus did judge the world; but that was a means, not an end. The end was to save the world from sin. "Now we believe . . . and know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world" (John iv. 42). "We have believed, and bear witness, that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world" (I John iv. 14). The only way Jesus can be the Saviour of the world is to save it. An unsuccessful attempt to save it would not entitle Him to be called its Saviour. Nor would His saving one-half, or even nine-tenths, entitle Him to this honorable appellation. The title can be earned only by His saving every soul of the world's population.

As God sent the Son to save the world, He must have known His ability to execute His mission. If the world was obstinate and unwilling to be saved, that state of things must have been known and provided for. The views which some men entertain of the ability of Jesus to save the world are well illustrated by the doctor's plaster, prepared for one of his patients. It did not cover the diseased spot, and the patient complained that it was too small. But the doctor said, No, it was exactly right. "The trouble is," said the doctor, "the sore is too large for the plaster." Jesus is able to save the world, but the world is unwilling to be saved. The fault is not in Jesus, but in the world. But it is as clear as the light at noonday, that if Jesus cannot save the world as it is, with all its obstinacy and unwillingness to be saved, he is not a sufficient Saviour.

The epistle to the Romans has some of the most decisive passages on this subject. In the fifth chapter, beginning with the twelfth verse, Paul compares the bad effects of sin on men in the past, with the good effects of the gospel on them in the present and future; and he draws the conclusion that "where sin abounded grace did more abundantly abound." It will be sufficient to quote a few verses of Paul's reasoning on the subject of human destiny. His words are: "So then, as through one trespass, the judgment came unto all men, to condemnation; even so, through one act of righteousness, the free gift came unto all men, to justification of life. For as through the one man's disobedience, the many were made sinners; even so, through the obedience of the one, shall the many be made righteous" (verses 18, 19). Two statements, one in each verse, are of special interest, as having an unquestionable reference to human destiny. One is, "Through one act of righteousness, the free gift came unto all men, to the justification of life." The other is, "Through the obedience of the one, shall the many be made righteous." Justification of life, or righteousness of life, is the destiny of all men, according to one statement. To be made righteous is the destiny of the many, according to the other statement. And "all men" and "the many" are here identical expressions. Such language as this from the Apostle Paul ought to set at rest the minds of all true Christians. Probably the best of us can but faintly appreciate the condition of the world when all men are righteous. It is our privilege to look forward to such a state, and to "rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."

Again (Rom. xi. 25-27): "Hardening in part hath befallen Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved; even as it is written:

There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer;
He shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob.
And this is my covenant unto them,
When I shall take away their sins."

The reference to the coming of the Deliverer connects this passage with those relating to the mission of Christ. The fulness of the Gentiles will come into the kingdom of God, and all Israel will be saved, when the mission of Christ is finished. And these are all mankind; and their ultimate condition, as here revealed, is entire freedom from sin; and this means holiness and happiness. It is added, "For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that He might have mercy upon all" (verse 32). This is worthy of the divine Father.

Again, "Having made known unto us the mystery of His will, according to His good pleasure, which He hath purposed in Him, unto a dispensation of the fulness of the times, to sum up all things in Christ, the things in the heavens, and the things on the earth—in Him, I say, in whom also we were made a heritage, having been foreordained according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will" (Eph. i. 9-11). "To sum up all things in Christ" is explained a little further along, by being made a heritage in Christ. And this is the same idea as that of a passage in Hebrews (i. 2), in which the Son of God is said to be appointed Heir of all things, that is, all things are His heritage. The same is referred to in the Psalms: "Ask of me, and I will give the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession" (ii. 8). The doctrine of the passage quoted from Eph. i. 9-11 is that all things in the heavens and upon the earth are the possessions of Christ; in other words, He is appointed Heir of all things. Of course He will care for His own.

"He humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death; yea, the death of the cross. Therefore also God highly exalted Him, and gave unto Him the name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. ii. 8-11). The phrase, "under the earth," is an accommodation to the opinion of some in Paul's day, who held that the abode of departed souls was under the earth. Had this been the opinion of Paul himself, he would have used the expression more than in this single instance. The homage paid to Christ, according to the passage here quoted, not only implies an exalted station assigned Him, but also a high moral and intellectual development in those who render it. And the phrase "all things in heaven, on the earth, and under the earth," is, as Prof. Moses Stuart says, a periphrasis for the universe. It must, therefore, comprehend all intelligent beings. Such is the destiny of all men and angels, who were made in the image of God.

"It was the good pleasure of the Father, that in Him [Christ] should all the fulness dwell, and through Him to reconcile all things unto Himself, having made peace through the blood of His cross; through Him, I say, whether things upon the earth, or things in the heavens" (Col. i. 19, 20). This doctrine of universal reconciliation is ex-

pressed in fewer words in another place. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself" (2 Cor. v. 19). To be reconciled to God we must have more knowledge of Him than most of us possess. Reconciliation to God is what the Bible means by the atonement; for this word has the meaning of reconciliation, or at-one-ment.

Paul enjoins upon Timothy, that "prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings, be made for all men . . . for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God, our Saviour; who willeth that all men should be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth. For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, Himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all; the testimony to be borne in its own times" (1 Tim. ii. 3-6). The old version has the words, "who will have all men to be saved." These words have a dignity and authority about them that command respect. The revisers preferred a form that seemed to make the salvation of all men a little uncertain. They probably thought, with the old lady, that a few sent to the bad place was "better than nothing." But there is no difference in the two renderings so far as the certainty of accomplishment is concerned. The will of God is as sure as His purpose. They are really identical. In one of the passages we have quoted (Eph. i. 9, 10), the will, good pleasure, and purpose of God are associated, as if there was no difference in them; and then it is added, "Who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will." What could be said more of His purpose?

In the passage before us, the salvation of all men, and coming to the knowledge of the truth, were probably intended as one and the same process. No doubt they go together. All men are to be saved, for the reason that Jesus, the Mediator between God and men, gave Himself a ransom for all.

3. Human destiny is further revealed and described, in connection with the resurrection of the dead. The language of our Lord in relation to the resurrection, except brief references and once or twice figuratively, is found but once in the four Gospels. But this one passage is recorded in all three of the Synoptic Gospels (see Matt. xxii. 23-33, Mark xii. 19-27, Luke xx. 27-40). The words of Jesus are an answer to the question of the Sadducees concerning the woman with seven husbands: "In the resurrection, whose wife shall she be of the seven?" The answer of our Lord, so far as we need quote it, is given by Matthew and Mark in nearly the same words, "In the resurrection, they neither

marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels in heaven." This language does not apply alone to the woman and her husbands, but to all the subjects of the resurrection, to all that rise from the dead. It is, therefore, the destiny of all mankind to be as the angels in heaven. That this applies to all the subjects of the resurrection will be more evident from the passage in Luke, which differs from the others, but is in some respects more full and satisfactory.

The passage from Luke, as now translated, limits the resurrection to "them that are accounted worthy of that world," etc. But correctly rendered this passage as plainly teaches the resurrection of all men as does the passage in Matthew or Mark. The mistake in the rendering comes from not seeing the connection between the thirty-fifth and thirty-fourth verses. The words of Luke should be translated as follows: "The children of this state (*aion*) marry and are given in marriage; but these, having been honored with that state and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage." The rest is similar to what is said by Matthew and Mark, only a little more full. "For neither can they die any more; but they are equal unto the angels, and are children of God, being children of the resurrection." As both sexes are here mentioned, I prefer "children," the old rendering, to the revised, "sons." To define human destiny by saying that we shall be as the angels in heaven is not to give us much definite information; but it is to assure us of a very high position in the universe of God. This ought to be satisfactory.

Paul has the most extensive treatment of our subject, in connection with the resurrection; and this is found chiefly in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians: "As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. But every man in his own order; Christ the first fruits" (verses 22, 23). To be made alive in Christ is to be raised from the dead a new creature, as Paul uses the words. The words, "every man in his own order," are proof that there are differences of condition or rank in the resurrection state as in this. Jesus occupies the highest position there as He does here; for this is what is meant by His being the first fruits. The Jews had two kinds of first fruits—those that were first in the order of time, and the first in quality. Jesus is the first in rank or position. Origen distinguished them as the first fruits, and the prime fruits. Jesus stands to the human race as the prime fruits. He was not the first that rose from the dead, but the most noble and exalted. He is called the first-born, for a similar reason.

"Then cometh the end, when He shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father, when He shall have abolished all rule, and all authority and power. For He must reign till He hath put all His enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be abolished is death." Or more properly, "The last enemy, death, shall be abolished," or destroyed (verses 24-36). This passage informs us that when the end of the Messianic mission comes, Christ will deliver up His kingdom to God, even the Father; for He had destroyed or abolished all hostile rule and all adverse authority and power. These evil things are called enemies. He will destroy death, the last enemy. If death, the last enemy, is destroyed, there can be no enemy alive after that. The revisers, not exactly liking this kind of doctrine, have added a word or two, and made the passage say that death is the last enemy that shall be abolished. No other enemy shall be interfered with. So said the translators of King James' version; and so say our late revisers. The passage just quoted gives us the work of Christ in destroying or putting out of the way all evil things. The next passage will describe a work entirely different—not suppressing or abolishing evil things, but subduing and subjecting to His rule intelligent beings.

"For He put all things under His feet. But when He saith, All things are put in subjection, it is evident that He is excepted, who did subject all things unto Him. And when all things have been subjected unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subjected to Him, that did subject all things unto Him, that God may be all in all" (verses 27, 28). This begins with a passage from Psalms viii. 6. The quotation says, He put all enemies under His feet. Paul made no qualification to this passage, when speaking of evil principles and agents. He said that all should be destroyed, even the very last. But when he came to apply the passage to intelligent beings, it occurred to him that God Himself, who is the Subjector of all things, must be excepted from this subjection. One would think that this was evident enough to have been taken for granted; but Paul must be permitted to do things in his own way. God being excepted, it is plain that there is no other exception. All others are included in the subjection. All the holiness and happiness implied in this subjection are comprehended in the destiny of mankind. That this subjection is a voluntary and happy one is proved by several considerations. First, nothing is said or hinted of any involuntary subjection. Second, the result that God is all in all forbids that any are subjected

forcibly or unhappily. Third, the same Greek word that denotes the subjection of the Son to the Father denotes the subjection of all others to the Son, implying the same voluntary and happy subjection in all cases. If we had nothing else to show that subjection to Christ is a supremely holy and happy condition, the words that close the above passage would be sufficient, that God is all in all. These are grand words.

After hearing Paul a little more on the resurrection, I will bring this discussion to a close. In giving his answer to the question, How are the dead raised? (verse 35) he must, it would seem, say something important of human destiny. Let the reader notice particularly the nature of the question, How are the dead raised? The dead—not the righteous dead; but the dead—the dead indefinitely—the dead universally. Of course the answer must be as broad as the question, and must apply to all the dead.

"There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption. It is sown in dishonor; it is raised in glory. It is sown in weakness; it is raised in power. It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body" (verses 41-44). The destiny of man in the resurrection is defined by the terms here employed, namely, incorruption, glory, power, a spiritual body. But these terms do not denote a uniform state; for one star differeth from another star in glory; so also is the resurrection of the dead. None are excluded from the resurrection; but some are like the dullest of the stars, and others like the sun in the heavens.

"For this corruptible must put on incorruption; and this mortal must put on immortality. But when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying, Death shall be swallowed up in victory" (verses 53, 54). There is here a reference to Isa. xxv. 8, which is the only place in the Old Testament having the words which the apostle quotes. The whole passage is as follows: "He hath swallowed up death in victory; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the rebuke of His people shall He take from off all the earth; for the Lord hath spoken it."

Paul did not suppose that this passage was originally written concerning the subject he was discussing; but he

quotes a few words as applicable to his subject, depending on his readers to recall the rest. This was a common practice in his day; and it was often the case that the rest of the passage was more applicable to the subject than the part quoted. It comes near being so in the present instance. "He will wipe away tears from off all faces," in the resurrection state. A remarkable instance of quoting a few words to call attention to a passage occurred on the cross. The twenty-second Psalm contains a number of Messianic texts, to which Jesus wished to call the attention of the people present, and near enough to hear; so he quoted the first few words, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" a passage that has been most sadly abused.

I will close this discussion by a brief statement of the arguments for human destiny, as they have been given in this paper, so that they may be seen at a glance.

The argument of reason, drawn from the attributes of God, may be briefly stated as follows: As an infinitely good being, God wills our highest happiness; and His plans and purposes aim at that object. As infinitely wise and powerful, He is able to accomplish it, and will do so. All that we know of His works, and of His providence over the world, and of the nature and history of mankind, confirms the foregoing conclusion. The Scriptures plainly and unequivocally give testimony to the same great truth concerning the destiny of the human race.

The serpent that tempted the mother of mankind, he being the author of sin, called also "the old serpent, the devil, and Satan," shall be destroyed. All the families, kindreds, and nations of the earth shall be blessed in Abraham's seed by being turned every man from his iniquities. All the holy prophets since the world began have spoken, by the Spirit of God, of the restoration of all things. Our Lord was named Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins. His birth was glad tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. He is a light of the Gentiles and a glory of Israel. As the result of His mission, all flesh shall see the salvation of God. Jesus is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. The Father sent His Son, not to judge the world, but that the world might be saved through Him. He is the Saviour of the world, often affirmed.

The parables bear witness to the same glorious truth concerning human destiny. The parable of the leaven in the meal teaches us that all humanity is to be so changed as ultimately to become pure and holy; the Good Shepherd,

that all wanderers in the wilderness of error and sin will be gathered into the heavenly fold of peace, love, and safety; and other parables teach that every lost sheep and piece of silver will be sought for and found, and every prodigal return to the father's house; while the angels rejoice over the repentance and recovery of every lost son and daughter of our heavenly Father.

Paul shows that, as all men sinned and suffered condemnation on account of the sin of one man, so on account of the mission of Jesus Christ all men would become holy and happy. And again, that though hardening in part had befallen Israel, when the fulness of the Gentiles (that is, all of them) had come in, all Israel should be saved; that God had shut up all unto disobedience, that He might have mercy upon all. That all things on earth and in heaven should be summed up in Christ, as His possession; that all should bow the knee to Him, and confess Him Lord to the glory of God the Father; that through Christ all things should be reconciled to the Father, for God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. That God willeth that all men should be saved, for Jesus had given Himself a ransom for all; that all evil things shall be destroyed as enemies; and all things shall become subject to Christ, and Christ to the Father, and God be all in all.

Finally, that all are to rise from the dead, incorruptible, glorious, and immortal, and become as the angels in heaven; the Lord God swallowing up death in victory, and wiping tears from off all faces.

"His own soft hand shall wipe the tears
From every weeping eye;
And pains and groans and griefs and fears
And death itself shall die."

THE MIDDLE GROUND.

BY GEORGE SIDNEY ROBBINS.

THE stars move in a system but they move one by one. The rain falls together but it falls in separate drops. Love binds hearts but it comes as a single messenger. It is as an individual that man enters and leaves this world.

It is true we become members of society when we are born, yet we are primarily individuals. Not only are we united to our ancestors but they live again in us as we in our descendants. Every child is another life of the parent. Not only this but each individual revivifies the influence of not only his ancestors but of all the contemporaries of his ancestors so far as they influenced one another; and every man exerts some influence on the society of his age. So we may say we are joined to and have in us all the past and all the future. Thus we have the integer and the mass, the individual mingling with society without being absorbed by society — society made by individuals to serve individuals not to hamper them. Herein we see the truth of the social problem — society was made for man, not man for society.

All things that are in their nature monopolies should be used by and for the people. These include land, water, air, light, heat, gas, steam, electric power, public highways whether wagon roads or railroads, transportation of people, goods, letters, packages, messages, express, telegraphs, telephones, the issuing of national money. These functions freed from private monopoly, man will have freedom of opportunity for his other needs and comforts. What man needs is freedom not protection, justice not charity.

This, then, seems the middle ground, which is always the only safe ground between the two extremes. The two extremes in social philosophy are the heights of philosophical anarchy and the depths of state socialism.

Philosophical anarchy, or no government by force, is a dream which implies such universal intelligence as to make only the self control of each and every individual all sufficient for the protection of the rights of others. Such a perfect intelligence as this idea would make necessary, would carry out the great promptings of love and justice, for a perfect intelligence would realize the necessity for love and justice to secure a perfect

happiness. We may as well dismiss this idea as impracticable and so impossible for the present. The material is too imperfect. The mass must be evolved for long periods of time before it will approach to the few who through more favorable heredity and environment, might now be fully trusted to govern themselves and work out this philosophy, so far as possible while hampered with such surrounding lack of proper development.

State socialism, on the other hand, would engulf the individual as by the waves of the ocean and make him but a slave to the state, as, under present conditions, he is a slave to monopoly. Coöperation, to be genuine, must be spontaneous and voluntary, not infringing on the liberty of the individual but preserving that liberty. Love actuates to coöperation, but as a free act, and without such act being free, it cannot carry the spirit with it. Love must be free. Love is a free gift and more generous than justice. Note the distinction. Love is higher than justice. But even to have justice, we must secure individual freedom, for justice includes liberty.

The single tax seems to be the middle ground in social philosophies. That system gives a practical method for securing land to cultivation, improvement and use, without involving endless statutory provision and litigation to interpret and determine what should constitute *use*.

Economic rent or ground rent or the single tax is not a tax on the land but on the special privilege for the use of valuable land which all have an equal right to use, since all have an equal claim, as all have helped to make the land values, and if the privilege itself be given to one individual, justice to other men can only be satisfied by that individual's paying the price of that privilege, the land value or economic rent, into the public treasury for the use of society at large.

When society exacts the full economic rent or the annual rental land values which society gives to the land, it only takes its own. This would abolish land monopoly, the root of all monopoly, since no man would, under such a system, hold land which he did not use. Man would be as secure in his possession of land under such a system as he is now, since now, as then, he must pay the taxes; with this advantage under the single tax, that then all his improvements and personal property and all the products of his own labor would be exempt from taxation. Whatever he put on the land would be free from taxation. He would only be asked to return to society what society gave to the land, namely, its economic rent. Economic rent is the excess of product which is secured from land over that which the same application could secure from the least productive land in use.

The earth was made for each generation that occupies it, and each and every man has a natural and equal right with every other man to each and every part of the earth while he lives on it. I have as good a natural right to live on one part of the earth as on any other, and so has every other man. To proscribe this right would be to proscribe the natural right to liberty. Liberty includes freedom of thought, act and movement. But the single tax, while it secures the use of land to the individual, also secures the equal right of every other man by the compensatory economic rent. Under the operation of the single tax, every man who wanted to use the actual land itself would have ample opportunity to do so, on the same terms as every other man.

The value of land increases as population increases because land is created by nature and has a fixed quantity. Land cannot be increased or diminished as can the products of human labor.

The supply of labor products under natural conditions when land would be free can be increased to meet the demand of all who would live on the earth at a time when labor had access to the raw material factor in production; and it is only monopoly of the natural opportunities which gives rise to the untrue and grewsome Malthusian doctrine that population tends to outrun subsistence, and the false theory of overproduction. For there can be no such thing as overproduction so long as any human want remains unsatisfied. It is underproduction and not overproduction that results in a glut of goods on the market. For all trade in the last analysis is but an exchange of goods, money being simply the *medium* for such exchange; and therefore if production is hampered and labor is defrauded of its just dues for what it does produce, through an unjust distribution of the wealth produced, by laws granting special advantage to a certain class, then underconsumption is caused, not because of no desire or need for the goods produced, but because of the monopoly of the raw materials from which to produce more real wealth, to exchange for the wealth already produced.

Add to this an insufficiency of the circulating medium, which results in the monopoly of the medium of exchange, and we can easily see how the commercial system gets awry, trade becomes stagnant, and depressions, panics and miseries ensue. On the one hand are merchants with goods to sell; on the other, people with needs to supply. On the one hand are food and shelter and clothing and fuel; on the other are hunger and cold and need. On the one hand are bread stuffs and other forms of goods rotting and decaying while the holders of them are anxious to dispose of them. On the other hand are the people who produced this wealth, but who only received a pittance of their just reward for doing so, and who are, consequently, unable to secure

it unless they can produce more, though they may be starving for the need, and as anxious to buy as the seller to sell. And so on account of our present vicious legislation, the buyer and seller cannot come together, and food rots while men starve for the need of it.

Under natural conditions there could be no such thing as too great a supply of labor, for the demand would always equal the supply, and every laborer would himself create the demand for his own labor when he could employ himself, as every mouth creates the demand for the labor of every pair of hands to feed it. Why, then, are any men unemployed? Why are any hungry or in need? Why do men starve? What causes a glut in the labor market, and so cuts off or reduces wages? There is but one answer: monopoly — monopoly of natural opportunities, and monopoly of money. Distress exists because labor is shut out from access to raw materials on which to exert its labor to create wealth to supply its needs.

So, again, it is underproduction and not overproduction that causes a glut in the labor market, the same as in the goods market. Under present conditions the actual needs of the laborer cannot be met. But let monopoly be dethroned and the gates of nature unlocked to all, let labor receive its just reward, and a sufficient medium with which to conduct exchanges on a spot cash basis, be issued by the government direct to the people, and the treasures of nature will burst forth to view, wealth will be largely increased and justly distributed, and a new era of liberty, comfort and happiness will open to man.

All value created by demand is extrinsic. There is no such thing as intrinsic commercial value. Commercial value is outside of the thing itself. Money is not wealth but a representative of wealth as a medium of exchange for wealth. The value of money comes from the demand for it on account of its legal-tender and debt-paying power. Money has no intrinsic value, and the value of the commodity of which it is made, is simply a commodity value.

Man is entitled to the value of his own labor. Society is entitled to the value it gives to land because it is the labor of all and the demand of all that gives this value to land. But is it not the demand of society that gives value to the products of labor? The products of labor are produced by the individual, and he is entitled to their value in use or equivalent for that reason. But the earth was not the product of human labor but was created by nature for all men; hence all have a claim to economic rent, since all have an equal right to land and since all help by their presence and labor and demand to give economic value to land. Thus land differs in its nature from that which is

produced by human labor. Land values belong to society since the labor of society produced them. The value of individual products belongs to the individual whose labor produced them.

We have now discussed land and labor, the two factors of production, land being the passive, and labor being the active factor. We have also discussed what should be the reward to labor under a just system. We have seen that the wages of labor should be the entire fruits of what labor produced. Economic rent is not a robbery of labor, because it pays for itself, and hence does not come out of wages. All receive the benefit of this fund which goes to society as a whole that creates it. Hence economic rent gets back to its source. We have then seen that under a free production and a just distribution of wealth, labor would be secured in all its rights.

The single tax guards the liberty of the individual and the rights of society. It recognizes the truth in individualism and the truth in coöperation. It secures individual liberty and freedom of coöperation. It lifts the burdens from the back of labor by abolishing monopoly and opening up natural opportunities. It protects the just rights of property by giving to labor the full product of its toil. It would advance "the brotherhood of man" of which poets have dreamed and sung down through the ages, but which remains for us to actualize by proper conditions. It is the only system for obtaining revenue that is not a tax on production, labor or exchange. It encourages improvement and the good of all. Every other tax discourages enterprise and the production of wealth. Economic rent is not a tax, for it returns to all what all create. It encourages increase in production and the just distribution of wealth. It protects the rights of the individual and the rights of society by a natural coöperation in functions which are essentially public in their nature. It stands for freedom as against restriction. It believes in the Declaration of Independence and in natural rights and makes them effective, while it sweeps away special privileges and vested rights.

It is the monopoly of natural opportunities and the monopoly of wealth which array the people against one another in attitudes of enmity. It is the money power of plutocracy, the dangerous worship of an aristocracy based on wealth no matter how obtained, the concentration and corrupting power of great wealth in pools and trusts and combines by venal legislation, that gorges the few while it enslaves and starves the many, that is putting labor and capital in hostile camps where arrogance struts past misery and insolence feeds on distress.

Oh, well may we cry out, What can be done to avert the dreadful tendency of present conditions? Either they must soon be better or they will soon be worse, all must admit. The shocks

and counter shocks to society from these appalling and awful present conditions are increasing. Like the standing armies of Europe watching each other from the boundaries of nations, so labor and monopoly are sullenly scowling at each other all over the world. How much more will the masses bear? How much more will the classes ask?

How much more will greed demand,
And how much more will the people stand
Of Shylock cruel, rapacious, cold,
Before the slaves become too bold,
And flame and terror burst o'er all,
And shroud this world in deepest pall?

Ah men, stop and think. May some feeling for humanity deter you. May love, the true religion, touch your hearts and stay your hands before it is too late.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF INDIA.

BY A MEMBER OF THE ORDER.

In the April number of the ARENA, at pages 161 to 175, both inclusive, appears an article by Heinrich Hensoldt, Ph. D., entitled "A Plea for Pantheism." The article referred to was evidently inspired by an article entitled "The Brotherhood of India," which appeared in the November number of the ARENA, and for which the writer of this present article is responsible.

In my former article, to which the reader is respectfully referred, there appear certain declarations of fact and principle, which—although presented in the spirit of fraternal kindness, and couched in terms of respectful consideration—seem to have been construed by Mr. Hensoldt, most unhappily, as an offence of such magnitude as to warrant him in converting what should have been a cordial, courteous, and honest consideration of a most worthy and interesting subject, into an exhibition of ill temper, chagrin, and ridicule. It is to be deeply regretted that in this day and age of reason there may still occasionally be found a man of recognized merit in the fields of science and letters who so lacks that courtesy of manner and graciousness of expression which alone can temper and make educational, or even inviting, a public discussion of scientific or philosophic questions. It would seem that anger and ridicule should have no place in a discussion between men who claim to be sincere, and to have in view an ambition no less worthy than the establishment of truth. To enter into a public consideration of a philosophy which borders upon the Infinite, and holds within itself every interest of human life, only to mar it with personalities, is alone sufficient to suggest to the mind of the careful student, a serious lack of familiarity with the principles of the philosophy itself. The deep significance of the subject under consideration alone—to say nothing of the deference which every writer owes to the accepted rules of literary ethics—would prevent the author

of this article from replying to mere evidences of chagrin and confusion further than to express sincere regret that his good intentions have borne no fairer fruit. All that portion of "A Plea for Pantheism," therefore, which indicates only the personality of its author and his unhappy frame of mind, will be passed by without further comment, and only that lesser but more important portion of his article which may be deemed to have any bearing upon the subject under discussion will be considered.

Before proceeding, however, to a consideration of the subject in chief, it would seem proper at this point to call the reader's attention to the opening or introductory paragraph of my former article, in which reference is made to the authority of the writer to speak upon the subject under discussion, and to the closing paragraph of the same article in which "The Brotherhood of India" is referred to as a "*bona fide* and definite organization."

Mr. Hensoldt, quite unmindful of the real question at issue, viz., "*Is there such a thing as matter?*" takes occasion to say at page 162 of his article, "*There is no such thing as a 'Brotherhood of India,'*" and a little further on, "Neither at the present day nor at any previous period did there exist an organization of *any kind whatsoever.*"

For the purpose of giving the reader a general idea of the real value of such an assertion coming from a man who does not claim to have been more than a mere traveller sojourning for a time in India, it may be valuable to note that the compiled statistics of 1891 disclose the fact that at that time British and Native India covered an area of about 1,600,000 square miles of territory, much of which it will be admitted is exceedingly mountainous, with a population of more than 286,000,000, of which about 61,000,000 are under control of the native princes. It is also a matter of general report that the civilization of this remarkable country dates back several thousands of years before the Christian era.

In view of the foregoing data, and with Mr. Hensoldt's unqualified assertions in mind, it would be interesting to know from what particular point of observation he has been able to examine with such unerring precision so vast a region of country, and through what direct channels of acquaintanceship he had come into sufficiently intimate personal relations with more than 286,000,000 of people to be warranted in asserting as a fact that among all their number "There is no such thing as a Brotherhood of India." It would be still more interesting to know something of the subtle and insidious process by which from the standpoint of this nine-

teenth century he has acquired that character of definite knowledge which warrants him in deliberately asserting as a fact that "Neither at the present day nor at any previous period did there exist an organization of any kind whatsoever."

Taking for granted that the learned doctor is possessed of extraordinary knowledge concerning India's vast territory, population, and literature, yet the reader may understand that an organization composed of occult students might easily evade his inquiries and investigations, especially since it must be remembered that the Brotherhood is a secret order, closely guarded and open only to such as are selected by the Initiates, and is accessible to all others, so far as its inner workings are concerned. Since Mr. Hensoldt admits there are adepts, he would not question their ability to guard their personality, plans, and purposes as well as their local habitation from the people in general or curious travellers in particular.

The writer, in his former article, without intending to offend, and with no thought even of invoking a controversy, stated that the Brotherhood of India is a *bona fide* and definite organization. If asked how he knows this to be a fact, he could only answer that he is now, and ever since the autumn of 1883 has been, a member of that order. If asked how he knows there is a Masonic Fraternity, he could give no more convincing answer to the world outside than that he is now, and ever since the year 1874 has been, a member of that fraternity. His knowledge of the one is identical in character with his knowledge of the other. And yet to the uninitiated his word may not be accepted as sufficient to establish either as a fact. He can only submit his testimony for what it is worth.

In this connection, however, it may be of interest to the reader to know that so eminent and respected an authority as Mr. Rhys Davids, from a purely exoteric standpoint, in speaking of the possibility of spiritual self-development, finds it necessary to say: "So far as I am aware, no instance is recorded of any one, not either *a member of the order* or a Brahmin ascetic, acquiring these powers," thus recognizing the order as a fact. Other authorities have spoken with assurance upon this subject, fully corroborating the writer's statement; but, after all, their testimony must be weighed by the world only for what it is worth to each individual inquirer.

If Mr. Hensoldt were asked how he knows there is such a school as Columbia College, he would probably say, because

he has been a member of its faculty and has had such experiences of a personal nature with it as to convince any man of its existence; and the world would be inclined to believe him. If asked by what authority he attaches Ph. D. to his name, he would probably say because he has taken that degree in a regular college authorized to confer the same; and while there may be some who would doubt his word, they could not well do so without doubting his integrity. The writer understands that doubts have been expressed as to the existence of any such man as Coomra Sami, and that similar doubts have been expressed as to whether Mr. Hensoldt was ever really in India; and upon either of these questions, his simple assertion is the only evidence before the world. If called upon to prove his assertions it is possible that he might find it no easy task.

The original proposition which constituted the basis of this discussion was the reported assertion of Coomra Sami that "There is no such thing as matter." It will be remembered that the writer endeavored to bring out in his former article, suggesting the inconsistency of such a philosophy, were three in number, and, briefly stated in their order, were as follows, viz.:

1. The very words employed by the Hindoo to express his thought are in themselves a palpable contradiction of the philosophy which Mr. Hensoldt's article would teach. That is to say, in using the words rice, clothes, hand, eye, ear, brain, heart, cattle, horses, trees, stones, etc., Coomra Sami virtually admits the existence of the *objects* or *things* which these names represent. To this point the doctor at page 172 of his last article replies that "Coomra Sami, being endowed with a rational mind . . . would speak of rice, salt, and food as if these things had a positive existence," etc.

This may be very satisfactory to Mr. Hensoldt, but, with due deference to his conception of a "rational mind," it entirely misses the point. The question to be answered is not how or in what manner Coomra Sami would speak of these things, but why he would speak of them at all if they do not exist.

Furthermore, it will be observed that Mr. Hensoldt, in speaking of Coomra Sami, says he "would speak of rice, salt, and food as if these *things* had a positive existence." It would be interesting to know to what "things" the learned doctor refers.

2. To become an adept one must first learn that "There is no such thing as matter." Coomra Sami is reported to be

a high-grade adept. Therefore, to him "there is no such thing as matter." But for all this we find him eating rice, wearing clothes, etc., which "*things*" he admits are necessities even to a high-grade adept. But what are rice, clothes, etc? They are either matter or delusions. If matter they disprove the delusion theory; if delusions then by his own confession the Hindoo stands convicted of eating delusions, wearing delusions, etc. Not only this: he admits that these delusions are sufficiently substantial in their nature and of so much importance in his physical economy that after reducing his wants to a minimum, he still finds them necessary to sustain physical life.

Coomra Sami is made to say in effect that there *is* no such thing as rice, but if that be true, why does he find rice necessary to sustain life, and why does he continue to eat it? If there are no such things as clothes, why does he continue to wear them? If bamboo-sticks and palm-leaves do not exist, why does he in the exercise of a "rational mind" take the trouble and pains to weave them together for a shelter? If this high-grade adept finds it necessary to eat things which do not exist, wear things which never have existed, and indulge himself in other things which in the nature of things never could have existed, there must be an extraordinary reason for his remarkable actions, and "being endowed with a rational mind" he should have little difficulty in giving a "rational" explanation of his conduct. Mr. Hensoldt, however, has gracefully avoided all reference to this matter, and utterly failed to help his patron philosopher out of his dilemma.

3. As cumulative evidence that "There *is* no such thing as matter," the distinguished doctor, at page 378 of his August article, narrates a very interesting personal experience with Coomra Sami. He asks the Hindoo this question: "Do you really mean to say that these eternal hills and the fertile plains beyond have no existence, except in my own mind?" After giving him a singular look and waving his hand, Coomra Sami replies, "These eternal hills, where are they now?" Proceeding with his narrative, the doctor then says: "And as I turned my gaze from the adept's eyes in the direction of the snow-clad Himalayas I was amazed to find myself gazing upon vacancy; the eternal hills and the fertile plains had vanished into thin air, and nothing was before me but a vast expanse of space; even the solid rock beneath our feet seemed to have disappeared, although I felt as if treading upon invisible ground. The sensation was weird in the extreme, and the illusion lasted fully eight or ten minutes,

when suddenly the outlines of the hills came faintly to view again, and before many seconds the landscape had risen to its former reality."

In my former article attention was called to this very interesting episode and to the significant fact that Mr. Hensoldt says, "The illusion lasted fully eight or ten minutes," from which it was inferred that at the time of preparing his August article he had not accepted Coomra Sami's philosophy that "There is no such thing as matter." This inference would seem to be justified by the fact that he speaks of the disappearance of the eternal hills as the illusion, and of their reappearance as the reality. But this is precisely the reverse of what the Hindoo was endeavoring to teach him. Had he really believed at the time of preparing his former article that matter is only a delusion, he would naturally have reversed the order of his terms and said, "The *reality* lasted fully eight or ten minutes," and "before many seconds the landscape had risen to its former *illusion*," or words to that effect. But from the vigorous tone of his "Plea for Pantheism" it appears that since the date of his August article his mind has undergone a radical change upon the subject, for at page 174 of his April article he says, "*Mind is the only reality*" has been the conclusion of the wisest of all times, and this is also the verdict of the highest Western philosophy," whatever may have been his own opinion. However, it is of little significance as compared with a proper interpretation of the meaning of his experience with Coomra Sami and the eternal hills: for, assuming that he has given a truthful account of this interesting but not unusual episode, his testimony is especially valuable in that it seems to establish two very important facts, viz., (1) that Coomra Sami is a hypnotist of no mean ability, and (2) that Mr. Hensoldt is a remarkably susceptible subject of hypnotic influences.

That these are facts will not be questioned by those who know anything of hypnotism or who have witnessed the physical manifestations of its influence or observed the operations of a hypnotist in the act of obtaining control of his subject.

In this connection it will be observed that Coomra Sami gave Mr. Hensoldt a singular look, which is precisely what any other hypnotist would have done to catch the attention of his subject, and waved his hand, an act which is quite familiar to every person who has witnessed exhibitions of hypnotic control, and then realizing that he had the mastery of his subject's mind, he said "These eternal hills, where are

they now?" in such manner as to suggest to his subject's mind the thought that the eternal hills had disappeared. All this time the adept's eyes were fastened upon his subject—in strict conformity with the practices of our Western hypnotists—for Mr. Hensoldt says, "And as I turned my gaze from the adept's eyes"; and true to his master's suggestion the hills were gone, for he says, "I was amazed to find myself gazing into vacancy." This is indeed a vivid picture of the external process by which a professional hypnotist obtains control of his subject's mind.

Turning now to the impressions which the hypnotic influence made upon himself, Mr. Hensoldt says: "I felt as if treading some invisible ground; the sensation was weird in the extreme." This corresponds identically with the testimony of other hypnotic subjects, and is doubtless as fair an expression of the sensation as could well be put in words.

Then, after the Hindoo had amused himself sufficiently, he naturally withdrew his influence, and "before many seconds the landscape had risen to its former reality." All of which was a perfectly proper thing on the part of the landscape.

As stated in my former article, this incident is offered by Mr. Hensoldt as evidence to demonstrate that "There is no such thing as matter," but most unfortunately for the learned doctor, it only proves that Coomra Sami is a successful hypnotist and appreciates a good subject.

It will be observed that in his last article the genial doctor has omitted all reference to the foregoing incident of his experience as well as to my remarks upon the same. It therefore appears that of the three principal points suggested in my former article, he has evaded the first and ignored the other two. The purpose of calling attention to these points a second time is to remind the good doctor that his abilities as an artful dodger are fully appreciated.

Having thus far shown that the arguments of my former article yet remain unanswered, the reader is now asked to briefly consider the additional remarks of Mr. Hensoldt upon the subject of matter, as they appear in his "Plea for Pantheism"; and lest he may again be tempted to lose sight of the subject under discussion, and expend all his best energies in abusing his critic, these supplemental suggestions will be numbered in their order, commencing with:

4. At pages 167 and 168 of his last article he says: "One of the greatest triumphs of the human mind, and beyond comparison the most important step hitherto taken towards the solution of the world-engima was the discovery that

an object implies a subject; i. e., that any given object, for instance a tree, cannot by any possible stretch of imagination, be said to exist unless there be at the same time an eye to see or a hand to touch it—in other words, *a mind to conceive it.*"

The real significance of this remarkable "discovery" may be better understood when the fact is pointed out that by and through it *man discovered his own existence.* This fact may not appear upon the surface, but will doubtless become apparent a little later on.

It was one fine morning within that dim and distant past that a philosopher of "far-off Hindostan" went forth into the forest to philosophize and "ponder over life's riddle" and solve, if possible, the "world-enigma." He saw a tree, and forthwith he proceeded to philosophize and "ponder over life's riddle," and this is the manner of his reasoning:

"I see a tree. Now, as between the tree and myself, the tree is the object because it is the thing I see, and I am the subject, because it is I who do the seeing. Inasmuch as I can see the tree, it follows that I am, for how could I see the tree if I were not? This settles it. *I am*, and therefore I have discovered myself. But let me reason a little further. Other people see trees also; therefore, other people are, too. Eureka! I have discovered myself, and in so doing have incidentally discovered the human race.

"Moreover, I find that the tree could not have been seen by me if I had not been. In other words, an object cannot be seen by a subject if there is no subject, for that which does not exist cannot see. I am therefore able to lay it down as a general principle for the benefit of those who may live after me, that *an object implies a subject.*

"It is somewhat remarkable, however, that in all this reasoning I am unable to find any evidence that the *tree* actually has any existence. To be sure, the tree is the object, and I had to have it as the starting-point and basis of my entire chain of reasoning. Moreover, I do not know how I should be able to see or think or reason at all without something to see or think about or reason upon; nevertheless, since I am unable to reason out an existence for the tree I am led to conclude that as a matter of fact there is no tree. It is simply a delusion; it therefore follows that an object has no existence in fact. Ergo! '*There is no such thing as matter,*' and '*mind is the only reality.*' This leads me back again to the great fundamental principle that an object implies a subject, and I might add, the subject denies the object."

At this juncture, while the philosopher is writing out his conclusions on a dried palm-leaf, to be transcribed as a supplement to the Vedas, a bear steps out from behind the tree. The noble philosopher, fully satisfied that he has successfully reasoned matter quite out of existence, says to himself: "I will now try this new philosophy on the bear, and see if it works as nicely on him as it did on the tree"; and then he begins:

"I see a bear; the bear is the object and I am the subject. Inasmuch as I see the bear, I am, and because the bear is seen by me, it follows that the bear is not, for it has already been established that an object has no existence in fact; therefore this bear is only a very ugly and hairy delusion. But how shall I account for the fact that when the tree was between me and the bear I could not see the bear? If the tree and the bear are both delusions, then one delusion can hide behind another delusion, and this would seem to imply that a delusion may have density; i. e., the tree has sufficient density to conceal a bear behind it. But of course that has nothing to do with the bear. He is certainly a delusion in any event."

Meanwhile the bear, who received his degree in the school of necessity and practical common sense, has been thinking for himself as follows: "I see a hoary philosopher of Hindostan; he seems to be an unsophisticated but very tempting object, and just at present I am a ravenously hungry subject. Now, inasmuch as I can see and smell the philosopher, I know that I am; and because the philosopher is seen and smelt of me I know that he is, too, and it now becomes my painful duty to see which of us will be hereafter."

Thereupon Bruin bites the hoary philosopher in halves, and devours him. After satisfying his appetite, he picks his teeth with the sharp end of a broken bone and "ponders over life's riddle," and this is his summary of the great problem:

"I am. The philosopher was. *I am.* The philosopher is *not*. If he had only been a sensible philosopher and brought his gun, he might still be. As it is, I conclude that I am the philosopher myself." And as he shambles off behind the tree to wait for another philosopher of the Oriental school of theoretical wisdom, he chuckles to himself, and in a baritone voice remarks, "What fools these mortals be."

It must be regretted that Bruin did not append another supplement to the Vedas. His practical philosophy would have been a great boon to humanity.

5. At page 170 of his earnest "Plea" the pungent doctor

delivers himself in these words: "It inexorably follows that if what we term death completely terminates the existence of an individual, viz., extinguishes the *mind*, the world will disappear too . . . as far as the individual in question is concerned."

This remarkable deduction deserves more than passing consideration. Briefly stated, the proposition is as follows, viz., "If death extinguishes the mind, the world will disappear as far as that particular mind is concerned."

It will be observed that the premise of this interesting proposition is the hypothesis, "If death extinguishes the mind."

But at page 174 of his last article Mr. Hensoldt makes the unqualified statement that "*Mind is eternal and indestructible.*" And the writer is inclined to believe that he is correct. Since mind is eternal and indestructible, however, and Mr. Hensoldt is aware of that fact, wherein is there any room for his assumption that it may be "extinguished"?

A proper syllogism upon this subject would be something like this: "Mind is eternal and indestructible. A thing that is eternal and indestructible cannot be extinguished. Therefore, *mind cannot be extinguished.*" In this event the hypothesis that mind may be extinguished is a false premise, and if a premise be false, who is there rash enough to vouch for the truth of any conclusion based upon it? Since "mind is eternal and indestructible" we must accept it as a fact, and all our reasoning upon it must be upon the basis of its existence, and not upon the possibility of its extinguishment.

It is safe to say that an extinguished mind is a commodity never heard of until "A Plea for Pantheism" appeared. Mind in its most positive state of existence is sufficient to elude the powers of the most learned. Not until men have been able to analyze existing minds can we hope to deal with "extinguished" ones.

But let us consider Mr. Hensoldt's hypothesis from another point of view. In substance he tells us that if death extinguishes the mind, the world will disappear as far as that particular mind is concerned. This is only another form of saying that a mind which does not exist cannot see the world. In other words, "A nonentity is blind." This is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the learned doctor's wisdom. It only remains for him to write himself down as the "Supreme Grand Patron of the Oriental Order of Extinguished Minds" to complete his fame.

There is yet another point of observation from which to examine this very remarkable proposition: It would appear that, in order to reason matter out of existence, Mr. Hensoldt is compelled to first extinguish mind. But while mind exists it is forced to take cognizance of the existence of matter. Properly appreciated this only serves to emphasize the wonderful tenacity with which matter asserts its own existence. In truth it is so persistent of existence that even this learned doctor of Philosophy cannot reason it out of existence without at the same time extinguishing himself. Verily matter is a stubborn fact.

6. We come now to the acme of Oriental wisdom, wherein, at page 174 of his "Plea," the acute doctor informs us that "the very fact of our inability to *define* matter is in itself a proof that matter has no positive existence."

This is indeed a new rule by which to determine the existence or non-existence of things. Now let us apply it to mind. In the next paragraph he tells us that "Mind is the only reality," that it is "eternal and indestructible." Suppose we admit it. Then, if his rule is correct, he should be able to define it. If so, will he kindly favor his readers with the definition? If, however, he is not able to define it, what then? In this event what becomes of mind? It is hoped the learned doctor will rise to this emergency, and, by the rule he has invoked to annihilate *matter*, save us from the calamity which must befall *mind* in the event of his failure.

7. At page 171 Mr. Hensoldt tells us that "If ten million pairs of eyes were apparently gazing upon the self-same object, there would be ten million objects."

This philosophy, it must be admitted, possesses the merit of economy as well as novelty, and deserves to be recommended to the practical business world for its great utility. For illustration: A citizen of Boston desires to erect a brown-stone residence. He finds it both expensive and inconvenient to cut and transport ten thousand stones from a distant quarry. He thereupon procures one stone at a cost of say \$2. Then he invites the good citizens of Boston to come out and look at this stone with their 10,000 "pairs of eyes," and instantly he has stones enough to complete his building. He procures a barrel of cement for \$3.75 and calls his friends to look at it, and his cement is multiplied accordingly. On this plan the materials for a residence ordinarily costing \$275,000 might easily be procured for about \$5.75. This is truly a practical philosophy.

But let us state the proposition again: "If ten million

pairs of eyes were apparently gazing upon the self-same object there would be ten million objects."

Now, that being settled, will Mr. Hensoldt kindly tell us how many eyes there would be? Also whether these eyes are realities or delusions? These are important questions, and should not be evaded nor ignored.

Moreover, if a stone is merely an idea and nothing more, why does this doctor of philosophy find it necessary to have even one stone for his "million pairs of eyes" to "gaze upon"? Why not have those million minds simply think of a stone? Or, to serve the interests of economy, why not have one mind think of the entire million? The result would certainly be the same, if objects are truly nothing more than mental conceptions. If physical objects are only conceptions of the mind, how easily every poor, hungry, suffering tramp in the country might provide himself a mansion and surround himself with all the comforts and luxuries of life. But alas, the most vivid mental conception is insufficient to sustain physical life or banish the bitter blasts of winter. Even a Coomra Sami must eat rice or die, and must wear clothes and find shelter beneath bamboo-sticks and palm-leaves or suffer.

8. At page 171, Mr. Hensoldt says: "Take a ploughboy into a botanical garden and let him see an interesting assortment of strange plants and flowers. He will gaze upon them as he would upon vacancy, for, to him, a plant is simply a 'plant' and a flower a 'flower.' . . . Now take a flower and explain to that boy all about its wonderful structure, about the anthers and pistils, about the ovaries, about the meaning of the petals, and the wonderful relations between insects and flowers. Teach him that the plant produces the flower for no other purpose than to attract the insect, in order to make a tool of it in effecting cross-fertilization. What is the result? Why, *you have altered that boy's mind*, and he now sees a thousand things of which he did not dream before—which to him did not exist."

Not so; he sees the same flower as before, but he thinks of all these other things. He does not see the insect nor the process of cross-fertilization. He only thinks of them. He does not see the plant produce the flower. He simply thinks of that fact while he sees the flower. He does not *know* that "the plant produces the flower for no other purpose than to attract the insect"; nor does Mr. Hensoldt, for that matter; he only *thinks* so.

Suppose the boy were blind, he might still be taught all these things, and occupy his mind in thinking of them, but he would never see the flower. And yet it is safe to say, he

would freely exchange all this knowledge for just one look upon the beauties of the world of physical nature.

To follow the eminent doctor through his mystic maze of theoretical inconsistencies would require much more space than the merit of his logic deserves.

The way was left open for him to have disarmed his critic by a single sentence, and it was fully expected that he would do so. Had he understood the true meaning of Oriental philosophy, he would have readily observed that Coomra Sami, in asserting that "there is no such thing as matter," did not intend that his words should be subject to a literal construction. It is probable that in whatever terms the Hindoo expressed his thought he intended to convey the idea that physical bodies and organisms are but an expression of spiritual forces in terms of physical matter. For illustration: The physical body of man is but the objective expression, in terms of physical matter, of those higher spiritual forces which are back of it. A man is accustomed to say "my hand, my heart, my head, my body," in such manner as to clearly indicate that he does not consider either or all of them combined as constituting himself. He is something separate and apart from his physical body. In other words, the soul, the ego, the mind, is something different from and above the plane of physical matter, and constitute what we are wont to term the "real man." Had Mr. Hensoldt placed such a construction upon the words of Coomra Sami, instead of measuring them by their literal significance, he would doubtless have more fairly represented his instructor's intentions.

Matter may also in another sense be very properly spoken of as illusory; viz., it is forever changing its form and constantly entering into new combinations. The bones and tissues of the human body are composed of elements which may have been gathered from every quarter of the globe. When dissolution occurs these elements are disintegrated, scattered, and formed and reformed into other and different combinations. That which constitutes an integral part of the human heart to-day may perchance in other years have had a place in the heart of an oak or the petal of a rose. A particle of gray matter which is to-day doing service in the brain of a doctor of philosophy, may one hundred years hence be serving a tadpole in the same capacity. And thus, in the sense of its transitory nature, matter may very properly be termed illusory. But this does not mean *non est*.

My former article was written under the impression that

Mr. Hensoldt, having in mind a correct understanding of Oriental philosophy, had unwittingly clothed his thoughts in such language as to convey a literal meaning contrary to his intentions, and it was sincerely hoped that he would avail himself of the opportunity afforded to justify that impression and set himself right with his readers. His failure to do so, with the door wide open before him, must be a source of regret to those who have hitherto followed his writings in a spirit of respectful consideration.

In conclusion: It will be remembered that my former article was strictly confined to a discussion of the subject of matter. To verify this fact the reader is again respectfully referred to the article itself and asked to examine it carefully. In my exposition of the position of the Brotherhood upon this fundamental subject of matter, which will be found commencing at page 761 of the November ARENA, it will be observed that the subject of mind is nowhere alluded to. And yet, at page 173 of his "Plea for Pantheism," Mr. Hensoldt says, "The degree of fineness—so our Student of Occultism announces—determines the difference between mind and matter."

If Mr. Hensoldt, with the words of his critic in bold, clear type before him, can find it possible in the exercise of a "rational mind" to so grievously misstate the facts, what may we not infer concerning his treatment of Coomra Sami's philosophy, where, as is also remembered he has quoted the Hindoo by the page, entirely from memory, months after the words themselves were uttered.

Thus far the writer has not entered upon a discussion of *mind*, for the reason that *matter* was the subject under consideration. He would also add, after extending the hand of fraternal good-fellowship in taking leave of the genial doctor, that if time and opportunity permit, it is his hope to publish a work upon "The Philosophy of Life" which it is believed will be of service to those who are seeking for a practical knowledge of the laws of psychic self-development as taught by *The Brotherhood of India*.

RAGS.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

His first recollection of anything was of the Bottom, the uninclosed acres just without the city limits, the Vagabondia of the town, and the resort of numberless stray cattle, *en route* to Bonedum. It was the cattle which first called into active play those peculiar characteristics which marked the early career of my hero, and gave evidence of other characteristics, equally unusual, lying dormant perhaps in the young heart of him, but lacking the circumstance or surrounding of fate necessary to their awakening.

In one room of a tumble-down old row of buildings that had once gloried in the name of "Mills," our Rags was born, among the rats and spiders and vermin, to say nothing of the human vermin breeding loathsome life among its loathsome surroundings. And indeed, what else was to be expected, since life takes its color from the color that it rests upon? Just as the spring in the Bottom, where man and beast quench alike their thirst, becomes a fever-breeding pool when the accumulated filth about it gets too much for even the blessed water. It was here that Rags was born. He owed his name to his clothes and to the kindred souls of the Bottom who had detected a fitness in the nickname, which, by the bye, soon became the only name he possessed. If he had ever had another nobody took the trouble to remember it, while as for him, he found the name good enough for all his purposes.

From the time he could use his legs well he was out among the cattle; fetching water in an old oyster cup that he had raked out from an ash heap, for such of the strays as were dying of thirst; or chasing the express trains across the Bottom, saluting with his one little rag of a petticoat the engineer on the tall trestle where the trains were constantly crossing and recrossing the Bottom; but giving his best attention always to the crippled cows and the old horses abandoned to the pitiless death of the Bottom. Any

one who had chosen to study his character might have detected the humane instinct at a very early age. The instinct of justice, too, was rather strongly developed, also at an early age.

Did I say he was a negro? A mulatto with a clear olive complexion, kinky hair, and eyes that were small and black, and showed humor and pathos and fire all in one sharp flash. He was reared in a queer school, and the lessons he learned had strange morals to them. It is no wonder they worked unusual results.

The first patient that came under Rags' ministrations was an old cow which had been abandoned to the mercy of the Bottom, and which, in an attempt to return to its unworthy owner perhaps, had been caught by a passing engine and tossed from the trestle, thereby getting its back broken. Rags faithfully plied the tin cup all the afternoon, only to see at evening the poor old beast breathe its last, leaving its bones to bleach upon the common graveyard of its kind, the Bottom.

The next morning Rags' old grandmother found the boy engaged in rather a promising attempt to fire the bridge, to wreck the car, that killed the cow, that roamed the wild, that Rags ruled.

When she had pulled him away from the trestle, and had dragged him home and thrashed him soundly, what she said was, "You fool you, don't you know they'll jail you fur life if they ketch you tryin' to burn that bridge?"

If they caught him. Rags had learned shrewdness if not virtue; henceforth he resolved not to abandon rascality, but to make sure that he was not overtaken in it.

His life from the time he could remember was a series of beatings and a season of neglect. Of his mother he retained no recollection whatever; he had at a very early stage of the life-game fallen to the mercy of his grandmother and her rod. When he was not being beaten he was roaming the Bottom, along with the other stray cattle—they of the soulless kind.

Once he remembered a party of very fine folk that had come out in carriages to look after the old horses that had been cast out by the owners they had served while service was in them. A great to-do had been made over the condition of the dumb things found there, and more than one heartless owner had been forced to carry home and care for the beast that served him. But the little human stray that fate had abandoned to destruction—there was no humane society whose business it was to look after him. But then

the cities are so full, so crowded with these little vagabond-strays; what is to be done about it?

So Rags drifted along with the fresh cattle that wandered into his domain, until one morning in January, when he awoke from sleep without being beaten and dragged from his bed for a worthless do-nothing. He sat up among the bedclothes that made his pallet and wondered what had happened. It was broad daylight; the sun streamed in at the curtainless window; while over in the city the shrill, sharp sound of whistles proclaimed the noon. In all his life he had never had such a sleep. The wonder of it quite stupefied him. He soon remembered, however, that a reckoning would be required; the wonder was that the reckoning had not already been called for. He sat up, rubbing his eyes and looking about him. Over in the corner stood his grandmother's bed; the covers were drawn up close about a figure, long, rigid, distinctly outlined under the faded covers. Sleep never yet gave a body that stiff, unreal pose—only the one sleep. The old grandmother had fallen upon that sleep.

After her death Rags found a shelter with a very old negress whom he called "Aunt Jane," a cripple, who lived over in the city, in a little den of a room off one of the chief thoroughfares, where progress was too busy to ferret out such small concerns. From the very first Rags was fond of the woman, possibly because she did not beat him.

And now it was that he began really to live. In an incredibly short time he became an expert sneak thief. The evil in him developed with indulgence. And so too—alas, the wonder of it!—did the humane. He was a strange contradiction; in color he would have been called "a rare combination." He would risk his life to rescue a child from peril, and he would risk his liberty for the penny in the child's pink fingers. He was not cruel; he had no fight against the rich. He only wanted to keep Aunt Jane and himself in food, and rags sufficient to cover their nakedness. He was not grasping; on the contrary, when he had more than was absolutely necessary for their immediate needs, he would give a bite to a less fortunate comrade of the gutters. He did not do this with any idea of show either, which cannot be said of all who give to beggars; he gave because of the humane that was a part of him; having given, he never gave the matter another thought.

He had a wonderful mind for deducting conclusions, as well as for refusing conclusions founded upon premises that were unsatisfactory to his ideas of justice.

One morning, when Rags' years had gone as far as twelve, a great circus came to the city in which fate had decreed him citizenship. Rags made one of the hundreds who followed the great procession of cages showing the painted faces of monkeys, apes, and ourang-outangs, moving majestically down the crowded street, halting now and then, as the law required, to give right of way to a passing street car.

Following the procession, pressing close to the cages, watching the wonderful pictured monkeys, an eager, absorbed look upon his face, was a little boy. He could not have been more than six years of age, and had evidently escaped from his nurse and been crowded off the pavement into the almost equally crowded street. His rich, dainty clothing, his carefully curled, bright hair, no less than the delicate, patrician features, proclaimed him a child of the upper classes. Nobody noticed him; nobody but Rags, inching along by the chimpanzees' cage. Rags' keen eye had caught the glint of silver in the little animal-lover's hand. It was the child's money to get into the circus, and which, as an inducement to manliness perhaps, he had been allowed to carry.

"Br-r-r-r-r!" sneered Rags. "No use o' that. Kin crope under the tent easier'n eat'n. That's how I do." And he inched nearer, his eyes never once removed from the small, half-clenched hand holding the bit of silver. The circus was for the moment forgotten; the painted monkeys grinned on, unobserved by Rags; the lion lashed its tawny sides in malicious anticipation of a broken bar or an inadvertent lifting of the cage door; the humped-backed camels in the rear of the procession plodded along under the persuasions of the boys in orange and purple and gay scarlet mounted upon their unwilling backs. Rags was unconscious of it all—and of the car coming down the street in a crackle and flash of electricity.

The first thing he did see clearly was a little golden head go down under the strong, lightning-fed wheels. He gave a wild, unearthly shriek and flew to the rescue. A hundred throats took up the cry; a hundred feet hurried to help. But too late. A little motionless bundle of gay clothes and bright hair, with crimson spots upon the brightness, lay upon the track when the fiery wheels had passed. And near by lay Rags, his eyes seeing nothing, and the toes of one foot lying the other side the track.

It was months before he could hobble about again; but the very first trip he made was to limp down to the place

where the accident had occurred, and, leaning against the iron fence of a yard that opened off the sidewalk, to go over the whole scene again. Had the boy escaped? he wondered; and what had become of the silver? He fancied it might be out there in the gray slush somewhere, together with his own poor toes. At the thought of them he grew faint and sick, leaning against the fence to prevent himself falling into the gutter.

While he stood thus a physician's buggy drew up to the sidewalk, and a man got out. He saw the very miserable-looking boy leaning upon a crutch and stopped.

"Are you sick?" he asked.

"No," said Rags, "I ain't sick." Then as the man was about to pass on he rallied his courage and said, "Where's the boy wuz hurt that day?"

"The boy?"

"The boy what the car runned over; where's he at?"

"Ah! The little boy that was run over the day of the circus you mean? He is dead. The car killed him. The company will have it to pay for."

Dead! The little brown face twitched nervously; the sight of it set the physician's memory twitching also.

"Now I wonder," said he, "if you are not the boy who got hurt trying to save the little fellow? That was a brave act, my boy."

There was a mist in the vagabond's eyes.

"I couldn't, though," said he. "Them wheels wuz too quick fur me. They—kitched—uv—him——." He drew his old sleeve across his face; he had been sick and was still weak and nervous; it was a new thing with Rags to cry.

"Never you mind," laying his hand upon the boy's head. "It was a brave, grand thing to do. It will stand for you with God some day; remember that, if you are ever in trouble. You did your best; you tried to save a fellow-being; you gave up one of your feet almost; crippled yourself for life in order to rescue another from death; and although you failed, you still did your best. That is all God cares to know; the deed stands with Him for just what you meant it. He will count it for you some day, God will."

The brown, tear-wet face looked into his with a strangely puzzled expression.

"God?" said Rags, "who's God?"

"Boy, where were you brought up—not to know the good God, who watches over you, over everybody, and loves us all, and cares for us?" He paused, looked down into the

knowing little old face, and wondered what manner of trick the beggar was trying to put upon him.

Suddenly the dark face lighted. Rags had turned questioner. "An' you say God sees ever'thin'? He seen the car what rung'd over the little kid? God wuz a-watchin'? Could God 'a' stopped it?"

"Certainly."

The dark face took on the first vindictive expression it had ever worn. Rags had been asked to believe too much; the mystery of God's measures was too vast for the street child's comprehension; his conclusion was deduced only from the most humane of premises.

"Damn God," said he. "I wouldn't a let it rung'd over a cow, nor a dog, nor a rat; an' I ain't nothin', I ain't."

"You're a wicked sinful boy, that's what you are, and you ought to be——"

"It's a lie," said Rags stoutly. "I ain't done nothin' half as mean as God done. Psher! Damn God, I say."

"Papers? Papers? Want a paper, mister?"

The newsboy's insistent cry had to be silenced; when that was done the good man who had stopped to speak the "word in season" looked to see Rags limping down the street upon the feet maimed in humanity's cause, and quite too far away to recall. He was half tempted to get into his buggy and go after him; there was that about the boy which was strangely and strongly appealing. But he considered: "The city is full of vagabonds like him; a man cannot shoulder them all; after all nobody knows that he is really the boy he professes to be; the papers said that boy was carried off by an old negress, a cripple, nobody could tell where." Rags passed on and out of his sight forever.

The matter ended there, so far as the man knew. But Rags, hobbling down the street, gave expression to his thought with sudden vehemence:

"Somef'n's allus a-killin' o' somef'n," said he. "Firs' it wuz a cow; then it wuz a boy; somef'n's wrong."

He had no idea wherein the wrong lay; he had never heard of Eden and the great first cause; but he had witnessed two tragedies.

He was able to throw away his crutch after awhile, but was painfully lame, and he was never quite able to shut out the vision of a little golden head under a whirl of rushing, fiery wheels. Another thing that he remembered was that God could have prevented the catastrophe.

With the winter Aunt Jane grew so feeble that Rags was forced to add begging to his list of accomplishments. Day

in, day out, his stub toes travelled up and down the sleety pavements in search of food, and a few pennies whereby to keep a spark of fire on the hearth before which the old negress sat in her rope-bottomed chair trying to keep warmth in her pain-racked limbs.

It was Christmas day and the shops were all closed; even the fruit-venders were off duty in the forenoon, so that Rags found begging a profitless employment that morning. At noon he had not tasted food since the night before, nor had old Jane. He looked in at one o'clock to rake over the ashes and hand her a cup of water. She still sat before the hearth, her feet thrust in among the warm ashes. The old face looked strangely gray and weary. Rags felt that she was starving. She looked up to say, in that half-affectionate way that had made Rags a son to her, "Neb' min', son, I ain' so hongry now; mebby someun gwine gib you a nickle dis ebenin' anyhow."

Her faith sent him out again to try for it. At three o'clock he passed a house with glass doors opening down to the street, revealing a scene which, to Rags' hungry eyes, was a most royal revelling. Some children were having a Christmas dinner-party. The table was spread with the daintiest of luxuries—oranges, grapes, and the golden bananas; cakes that were frosted like snow; candies of every kind and color. So much, so much that would never be eaten, and he asked for so little! What beggar doesn't know the feeling? Around the table a group of happy children toyed with the food for which Rags was starving; watching them through the glass door like a hungry bear, yet not thinking of himself and his own great hunger. He was thinking how just one of those brown loaves heaped upon the side-table would put new life into the old woman at home. Had there been the slightest chance for stealing a loaf, Rags would have spent not a moment of time at the glass door more than was necessary to possess himself of the coveted feast.

He watched a white-aproned waiter carefully slice a loaf and slip a thin piece of ham between two of the narrow slices and serve them to the overfed children, who nibbled a bite out of their sandwiches and threw them aside for the daintier knickknacks. The sight of the wasted food almost drove him mad. Oh, to get behind that plate glass for one moment!—for one chance at the bread which the rich man's child had thrown away! He felt as though he could have killed somebody if that would have given him the food.

Then, without warning, without any sort of volition on his

part, there came to him a recollection of the man who had told him about God. Why not try if there was any truth in what the man had said? Surely God would never find a more propitious time for exercising His power. He was ignorant alike of creeds and conditions; he was simply trying God *as* God, and all-powerful; disrobed of all things earthy and impossible.

"God," said he, "don't you see? Don't you know they've got it all, more than they kin eat? An' don't you know Aunt Jane is starvin'? I want some of it, God! I want it fur her, fur Aunt Jane. Give it to me. *He* said you give it to me, God. God! God! God! I say, give it to me, fur Aunt Jane."

As the crude petition ended the aproned waiter stepped to the side-door with a plate of scraps in his hand and whistled softly to a little terrier dog that came frisking up to get them. The man had no sooner disappeared within the door than Rags seized upon the cast-out bits. The dog resented the intrusion upon his rights in a low growl that brought the waiter to the door again. Rags made one dash for the precious heap before he disappeared around the corner. Safe out of sight he took an inventory of his possessions; half a slice of bread, a filbert, a lemon-rind, a banana with a spoiled spot on one end, and a half-eaten pickle. A pitiful mixture for which to risk his liberty, but his heart beat with jubilation that found expression in words as he hurried off home with his treasures:

"I got it, anyhow," he was mumbling. "You wouldn't git it fur a pore ol' nigger as wuz starvin', but I got it, Mr. God; I stoie it fum the dogs."

The maimed foot came down upon a bit of ice that must have brought him to the ground with a smart thump but for a hand that was put out to stay him—a strong, safe, woman's hand; the hand of a lady, white, soft, bejewelled. It rested for a moment upon Rags' tattered old sleeve; the velvet of her wrap brushed his cheek. In all his hard little life he had never felt anything like it. There was about her that presence of cleanliness which attaches to some women like a perfume.

"Are you hurt, little boy?" she asked.

At the voice's sweetness the dark eyes lifted to hers suddenly filled with tears. Like a far-off gleam of light it came to him that, after all, there might be a side of humanity with which he had never come in contact, a something responding to something within himself, deep down, unknown,

unnamed, like the glorious possibilities slumbering unchallenged within his own benighted little soul.

The owner of the voice stood looking down a moment at the queer, silent little figure, the rags, with the tawny-brown skin showing through, the maimed foot, and the tears which the little beggar staunchly refused to let fall. She was young and beautiful; she belonged to God's great army of good women whom the less philanthropic are pleased to denominate "cranks."

"What is your name, boy?" she asked, releasing the tattered sleeve.

"Rags."

The pathos of the reply, and the name's great fitness, appealed to her more than any beggar's plea he could have framed.

She thrust her hand into the pocket of her velvet wrap and took from it her purse.

"You are to buy yourself something to eat, and then you are to come to me—*there*. Anybody can show you the place."

She placed a half-dollar and a white visiting card in his hand, and passed on before Rags could fashion a reply; even had there been anything for him to say. His usually nimble tongue had no words for the great event that had come into his life, but the quick brain had opened to receive a thought—a thought which, like fire, carried all his fierce doubts before it.

"He heard me! He heard me!—God did."

It had come direct, swift, certain. And the knowledge of prayer answered thrilled him with a strange, sweet awe that was almost fearful in its intensity. The man had spoken truly; there *was* a God; He had given him food and help for Aunt Jane. Ah! He was a good God, though He let the little boy be killed; perhaps he should know why some day, when he came to know Him better. He would have many things to ask Him, many things to tell Him—this good God that kept them from starving. He had not thought to throw away the scraps he had taken from the dog nor stopped to buy the dinner of which he stood in such sore need. The knowledge of food possible had served to blunt the edge of hunger. He only wanted to get home with his wonderful news, to get a bite for Aunt Jane; and then by and by, when she could spare him, he would find the lady.

He pushed open the door and entered, calling the good news as he went. The old negress was sitting just as he had left her in the big chair before the fireless hearth. She

neither moved nor spoke, but sat with her head leaned back against the chair, mouth open, and the sightless eyes staring, unseeing, away into that mystery where none might follow. Instantly he recognized that she was dead. He stood looking at her in awe, stricken, silenced, frightened; not at death but at life, which he began to understand was something too deep and vast and terrible for him. It was the second time that death had met him thus, the third time they two had faced each other without warning or preparation. The persistency with which it seemed to trail and pursue him sent a kind of superstitious thrill through him. What a tragedy in a nutshell his life had been!

He glanced from the changed, dead face to his full, clenched hands, and slowly his fingers opened. The silver rang upon the hearth bricks and disappeared quickly in the fireless white ashes, as though running from the new presence in the room. The broken bits of food lay upon the floor at the dead woman's feet, and the lady's white visiting card fell, face up, forgotten, as with a wild cry Rags turned and fled—away from death, away, into the ice-crusts, frozen street; away from life and its too mysterious meaning.

A wagon was coming down the street as he tried to cross, and in his haste he tripped and fell. He heard the driver's startled shout to the horses, but he did not know when the wagon passed over him.

The crowd that gathered was not altogether drawn by curiosity to see the little maimed body of a child among the slush and ice of the street. A lady in velvet was picking her way through the frozen mud, giving directions to the driver of the team.

"Carry him in there," she commanded, pointing to the door Rags had left wide open. "I saw him run out of there; I was following him. Then do some of you men run for the hospital wagon, quick—don't stand there staring, you may need it yourselves some day. Be easy with him, my man, there is life there yet."

Within the room to which they bore him, an old woman's dead face, lifted to the sooted ceiling with a kind of defiant triumph, met them; half hidden by the white ash upon the hearth a piece of coldish gray silver seemed to be spying upon their movements; and at the feet of the dead a bit of white cardboard, bearing the marks of a child's soiled fingers, lay turned up to catch the streaming winter sun through the uncurtained window; the black letters seemed to catch a radiance of their own:

Isabel Grey.

The Woman's Relief Society.

72 N. Summer.

When Rags opened his eyes in the hospital they rested upon a lady, richly dressed, standing at his bedside. She saw the recognition in the wide, wondering eyes, and stooping, spoke his name:

"Rags."

"Yessum," said Rags, "yessum, I hears yer, Miss Lady."

"Boy," she began, startled, and afraid that the struggling life might slip before she could deliver her message to the wanderer—"boy, do you know who sent me to you?"

Under its cuts and bruises the dark face glowed.

"Yessum," said Rags, "hit wuz God. Dat ar white man say God ud count it up fur me, an' I reckon He done it."

She hadn't the least idea what he was talking about, but she understood that someone had dropped a seed. Slowly the beautiful head drooped forward, the lips moved softly, but with no sound that could reach beyond the ear of God.

"Lord, if I might rescue one, but one, of Thy poor wandering race!"

A NEW VOICE FROM THE SOUTH.

BY M. L. WELLS.

Aunt Viney is an old black woman of the ante-bellum type, proud of her old master and his family, and proud of herself as being part and parcel of a time when there was no such thing as a "new nigger," a class she affects to despise. She cannot read a word, yet one is constantly surprised at her knowledge of affairs and her clear rendering of questions not supposed to be within her ken. She has a keen perception of character, and those of her own race are often made to feel the force of her sarcasm and disgust at the many shams she discovers among them.

"My ole marster" is her ideal of what a man should be, and she holds him up as a pattern of excellence to the youngsters—much to their disgust.

For years she has been my daughter's woman of all work, coming out from town to our suburban home every morning, a long walk which she insists on taking rather than give up her little cabin.

"Doan yous harrify yous mind, Miss Helen, 'bout me git-tin' too ole ter walk so far. Ef you all doan want me no mo', jes say so. But honey, Is'e got ter stay right wha' I is. Kase it's my own cabin, you knows." And the poor old soul is allowed to have her own way.

Last November we had rather an exciting election, and for the first time Aunt Viney had her attention called to political questions. Coming in on election day we saw that something was on her mind. She was solemn as an owl, muttering to herself as she started the clothes for the weekly washing.

All at once, as though she had solved a knotty problem, she straightened herself up, came into the room where the family were, and said, "Does yous all vote? I means all de white ladies."

Someone answered, "Why, no! What put that into your head? Men do the voting."

"Doesn't yous want ter vote?"

"No, it would be no end of trouble and bother, and wouldn't make things any better. You don't want to vote, do you, Auntie?"

"Well, I'se s'prised dat yous all doan' vote, an' dat yous all doan' want ter. I reckon ef you wanted ter, you cud."

"No, we could not, Auntie. Women are not supposed to know or care about politics, and they stay at home and take care of the children. Men seem to think that children need more care on election day than on any other. It is against the law for any woman, white or black, to vote in this state. What made you think about it?"

"Well, honey, I'se been a tu'nin' it ober in my min' eber sense de meetin' at de cote house, when de white men an' de nigger men sot on de same platfo'm, an' cheered an' holler'd while dat white man was a-speakin'. Heaps o' black women went ter dat meetin'. An' hit set me ter stud'din', when I heah de man what was speakin', tell how de 'Publican party done set we'se all free, an' gib us de right of citizenship; an' den he splain dat dat meant ter vote an' make de laws, an' dis was de one sign we had dat we was jes' as good as white folks, an' gib us rights under sum sort ob a ting dat he call consumption."

"Oh, no! Aunt Viney, I reckon he said constitution."

"Yes, dat am hit. Well, him talk on fo' a plum hour an' a haf des as assumtious as cud be, an' da was all dem black women dat had been tinkin' dem free for mo' dan thirty yeah. How is dat?"

"An' des now comin' down 'Calie Abenue I saw a mighty nice-lookn' white man a-drivin' a span ob black hosses in a kerridge. Him pass me right by an' neber eben say good mawnin'. But jes' a little way on 'fore he got to de co'ner wha' you tu'n, a great big buck nigger cum out ob de fence co'ner, an' de white man hol' up de hosses an' shake han's wif dat nigger, an' him got into dat kerridge right 'side dat white man an' dey druv off, big as cuffy. Wa'nt dat curus, Miss Helen? I wonders at it, an' jes cum on when who'd I meet tu'nin' de co'ner but dat Dan Johnson what I'se done tole you all 'bout, what sots 'round an' lets he wife go out washin' to s'port him. Well, he all dressed up wif white shirt an' collar stiff es cud be, an' a red necktie, an' shakin' a cane in he han'. I doesn't usual notice him, case he kind o' low down. But dis mawnin' I has a meanin' in speakin' him.

"An' I ses, 'Hows dis, Dan, has you done hu't yo'sef? I sees yous carryin' ob a cane.'

"Yous jes' orter seed him swell up as 'po'tant as cud be, an' he sez. 'No, Mis' Jo'dan, I'se not hu't, in fac' I'se in mighty good health.'

"An' he took off he hat gran' as a preacher, an' I tuk notice his har war pa'ted space in de middle.

"An' I sed, 'I reckon yous gwine maskradin' ter 'tend yous a woman. I takes notice yo' har am pa'ted dat way.'

"Den whoee, you all ought jis' ter heard him. He felt so big he didn't know what ter do wif hese'f. An' he sed:

" 'Mis' Jo'dan, I caint ha'dly confiscate how a lady ob yo' 'telligence doan' know dat dis am 'lection day, an' I'se one ob de jedges ob de 'lection. Hit's a mighty 'po'tant sitiuation I holds.'

"An' I sed ter him, 'Sure 'nough? Wha' yo' got ter do wif 'lection?'

"Den he tells me jes what de white man sed de odder night, how when de wah cum hit were all 'cause de niggers was in bondage, an' 'bout de 'Publican pa'ty, what was made up ob all de good men, preachers, an' lawyers, an' de men what love de black man.

"An' I sed, 'Hole on dah, Dan, didn' dey love de black women any?'

"An' he laughs and sez, 'Well, I reckon dey mus' les' dey wuldn' be so many yaller pickaninnies.'

"I ain' pay no 'tention to dat, but I sed: 'Look heah, Dan, yous knows better dan all dat. When de black men went free didn' de black women go free too?'

"An' wif dat he shake he cane sum mo' and sez, 'I neber argefies wif a lady, but I hardly sees what yo's tryin' ter get fro yo' haid.'

"Wif dat I jes' laugh till I make my ole sides ache, an' tole him he war an ole fool. I was tryin' ter get fro *he* haid de cause why, ef he free, an' I free, how cum 'lection day am so 'po'tant to de black man, an' de black woman hasn' nothin' ter do wif it?

"Dat nigger make me lose my patience, an' I felt like I'd like ter shake him ter a frazzle, when he look so lordly an' gran' an' say: ' 'Tain't 'spected yo' understan' 'bout 'lections. I'se a feller citizen jes' like a white man, an' I votes ter make de laws. Now I leaves hit ter yo' to tell me what a woman knows 'bout makin' laws. A woman's place am in de home, an' a man's place am out do's tendin' ter de public doin's.'

"I jes' cudn' he'p sayin' ter him, 'I reckon Sarah got plenty washin' to do dese days.' An' Miss Helen, I wish yo' cud a-seed him squirm when I say dat. But he neber let on; he jes' kep' a-talkin' 'bout de 'po'tance ob he share in de 'lection.

" 'What yo' git fo' votin'?' I sed.

"He tuk off he hat agin an' sed, 'I reckon dat am not per-skasely a fair question, but bein' as yo's a lady, I'll show what I'se done made dis mawnin'.' And he tuk much as six silver dollah out his'n pocket an' sed, 'I reckon I kin shorely make dat much mo'.'

" 'How yo' does it?'

" 'Well, yo' see, I'se by perfession a politician, an' I gets

pay from de white gemmen fur de votes I brings in, an' den I 'ten' I ain' goin' ter vote 'tall, an' dey knows I has a heap o' confluence, an' dey sez, "Now see heah, Dan, yo' go vote an' bring many as yo' kin, an' we'll see yo's well paid."

"Den I sed, 'Wha' de use havin' a vote? Doan' seem ter me hit 'mounts ter nothin'."

"Den he tells me—an' dat's what puzzles me—he done tole me dat a vote was de on'y sign we had dat we was free; dat we jes' as well be slaves yit es not ter hev a right ter vote.

"Den when he sez dat I jes' blazin' mad, an' I say, 'Well, I'se goin' ter vote ter-day, ef what yo' tells me is de truf. Heah I'se been free eber sense de wah, an' nobody neber done tole me a t'ing 'bout dis votin' bizness. My ole marster was one ob de bes' men in ole Virginny, an' how cum it dat I neber did know dat I'se no better off dan I was befo' de wah, when all dese no-count niggers whut neber hed no white folks wuth speakin' ob, shud be votin' all dese yeahs?"

"So, Miss Helen, I des leaves dat no-count nigger ter go do his votin' an' I cum ter ax yo' how cum it I cain't vote. But ef yo' white ladies doan' vote den I'se wuss 'plexed dan I was befo'.

"Now when my ole marster was livin' he hed mo' dan a hund'ed niggahs, an' de women was 'counted jes' good es de men, an' heaps o' times mo' 'count. De on'y time I eber know my ole marster ter sell a nigger, hit was my ole man Joe, an' a trifle nigger neber lived (I shorely has hed free ob de o'neriest niggers dat eber fell to any woman).

"Ole marster cum ter me an' he sez: 'Viney, I'se 'bleeged ter sell Joe. Mr. Do'sey will buy him an' put him in de fiel'. Mr. Do'sey wants yo' too, an' ef yo' wants to go wif Joe I won't separate yous.'

"I sed ter ole mars, 'Mars William, how much will Mr. Do'sey gib for Joe?"

"An' ole mars say, 'He gib five hund'ed dollah, an' he will gib nine hund'ed fer yo', but we hope yo' wont go.'

"An' I neber did let on ter Mars William how glad I was ter git rid ob Joe, but I jes' look so solemn es if I war at Joe's fun'ral, an' I sez, 'I cain' leave Miss Margery an' de chilluns. I reckon I better stay wha' I be.'

"But I keep in mine' dat I was wuth nine hund'ed dollahs, an' dat I was wuth heap mo' dan Joe.

"Den de wah cum on, an' de women an't no 'count no mo'; dey jes' goes out loose wif de res', but dey not counted fer nuffin. I doan' understan' how dat can cum 'bout, but ef yo' white ladies doan' vote I reckon we uns needn' cyar, on'y I spec' it seems harder ter we all, cause fo' de wah we was sum 'count, same as de men."

BROTHERHOOD.

BY ANNIE L. MUZZEY.

ONE love, one life, one blood, one truth, one aim, one end have we,
The finite human seeking the Divine Humanity.

As wave on wave comes rolling in from seas we do not know,
So life on life, through mingled tides, the seas of being flow.

Nor less than waves may men, who to each other stand or fall,
Move in their spheres except as all for each, and each for all.

How is my brother lost and I not also gone astray?
The light I bear is false if it illumine not his way.

How is my brother saved and I not joyful in his joy?
The bond between our souls no fate can sunder or destroy.

The wrong I do another swift with fatal force reacts,
And from my cup of happiness its measure full subtracts.

The loving thought I freely send through all the bounds of space
Will lift the clouds that veil the sun and show the Father's face.

Love's breath divine envelops us like floods of living air.
Take thou thy fill, but know in love that we must all things share.

How prayest thou in altar rails for God to do His will?
Thou art His instrument. Go forth, and thine own prayers fulfil.

"Thy kingdom come" is vainly said. How shall our pleading win
Until we make our life the door to let the kingdom in?

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

THE CHRISTIAN STATE: A POLITICAL VISION OF CHRIST.*

Perhaps no man at present engaging public attention has been subject to such strange misinterpretation as has Professor George D. Herron, whose latest book, "The Christian State," is now engaging the attention of the critics.

The various small volumes that Dr. Herron has put forth from time to time, during the last few years, while they have served to draw many towards the Christ ideal which he holds out, have yet made for him many bitter enemies. Heretic, Socialist, Anarchist, are by no means the severest terms applied to him by thoroughly sincere and well-meaning critics. His teachings have, in fact, been so little understood that the present volume is designed by him as an exposition of the views he holds, which are supposed to set him at variance with other clergymen of the communion to which he belongs.

Dr. Herron is a Congregational clergyman, incumbent of the chair of Applied Christianity at Grinnell College, Iowa. His books, whatever may be their ultimate field of usefulness, are primarily intended for Christian readers, for the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth are the corner stone and the final of the structure he would rear.

The traditions of the pulpit are strong upon him, moreover, and he speaks as one having authority regarding matters concerning which the majority of us are content merely to suggest, and to speculate.

In "The Christian State" he begins with an acknowledgment of his political faith in Christ. To this great teacher he looks for the redemption of the nation, and the setting up of a political order that shall associate men in justice, which order, he declares, is the present search of civilized peoples. The old ways of political thinking and doing have exhausted themselves. Our present systems of human relations are not able to endure the strain that is coming upon them. Society is moving towards revolution, but it is revolution from anarchy to order, from industrial slavery to industrial freedom, from political atheism to the true kingdom of God. In a word, we are coming to race consciousness, as members of one another, and to a knowledge of humanity as the body of God.

Thus far all orthodoxy must go with the author, but from this vantage ground he makes a sweeping onslaught upon sectarianism. The religious revolution we call the Reformation was, he claims, a universal loss as well as a gain. The future power and purity of the

* "The Christian State: A Political Vision of Christ," by Prof. George D. Herron. Cloth; price 75 cents. Published by T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

church are involved in our recovering much that Protestantism threw away, in reuniting the broken fragments, the discordant sects of Christendom in a universal church. The Catholic church of the fifteenth century was spiritually splendid and historic, with institutions which Protestantism needs; with a wealth of sacrifice and spiritual glory that should be the inheritance of us all.

Timid believers may see in such utterances a tendency towards Romanism. A study of his work, however, reveals that nothing could be further from the author's thought. He sees, as he declares that a political faith in Christ as the one perfectly socialized being is spreading among the people. There is coming about a great revival of Christianity. The political appearance of Christ is manifest in the increasing social functions of the state, and the socialization of law. His spirit is permeating the entire body social. Pentecost was the beginning of the ultimate civilization. What civilization needs today is an organized centre of unity. This it is finding in Christ.

The work of the Christian apostle is not to create a new social order, but to discover and interpret the divine order that has been the government of human life from the beginning. There has been no other government of the world; no other order of society among men than the kingdom of God. Whether they are conscious of it or not, the authority of Christ is here, judging and ruling the nations.

The Christian state is the social recognition of democracy; the political organization of Christ's law of love. Christianity in its fulfilment is the self-government of the people through communion with God. Americans, Dr. Herron says, are not a democratic people. England has made greater strides towards popular government than have we. Our government is not representative. Our political parties are controlled by private, close corporations, existing as parasites on the body politic. He arraigns, fiercely, the legislative jobbery of the day.

There is no likeness between the Christian ideal and that of the anarchist, as Christians, foolishly, sometimes admit, and organized selfishness eagerly charges. Christ is the redemption of the law from anarchy. The Christian ideal would lead the people in a political progress that would leave restrictive institutions nothing to do, so that they would fall into the greater freedom thus achieved, and die, as the acorn dies in the earth when the tree comes forth.

This, in particular, is a line of argument that might lead to a characterization of the author as an anarchist. He declares, however, on the same page, that "The anarchist ideal would lead the people in a descent to the lowest political hell, where individual self-will would establish the throne of perfect despotism, and the order of perfect misery."

The Christian state, he predicts, will also be the salvation of the church. The attitude of the church as a whole towards the problems of our national life is far from what God and the people have a right

to expect. "Not only is the church in a large degree indifferent and ignorant concerning the nature and real gravity of the social crisis, but its official classes are often found in unthinking and dangerous antagonism to the social change that is as surely coming from God as the Christ Himself." The multitudes are "sick and outraged with the weak social maxims and religious respectabilities of the church." There is "a deepening social feeling that Jesus is not adequately represented by the institutions that bear His name." The pulpit is without living inspiration. There is an awful heartache within ten thousand of the church's baffled and troubled ministers, who know not what to do, and within ten million Christians in the church, who feel, but do not comprehend, the lack in their ministers and in themselves. So long as the church is as it is now there should not be unity between it and the state. The church should not seek such unity at all, but it will come with the social redemption and unity of the world.

A hopeful sign of the times is that the American people are under a national conviction of sin. They have done those material and political things they ought not to have done, and left undone those things which they ought to have done. There is need of a Christian revival of the nation. This revival the author foresees, and the setting up of the Christian state, his conception of which is nothing less than a collectivist commonwealth wherein the governing power is the spirit of Christ. This is the source to which he attributes the growing spirit of altruism that characterizes the age. In a word, Dr. Herron might be called a Christian socialist, seeing in divine order and arrangement an explanation of those phenomena for which still another class of social students account upon the hypothesis of evolution. Unquestionably his book is an important one, although the unbiased reader may be pardoned for surprise at the agitation manifested by those who feel themselves called upon publicly to antagonize it. Dr. Herron is a seer, rather than a scientific sociologist. He claims for his work inspirational, rather than scientific authority, but there is a deal of common sense and incontrovertible logic packed between the two covers of the volume. Whether one accepts the Christ ideal the book holds up, has little to do with the main proposition, that our national redemption must come about through individual regeneration. Whether it be Christ or humanity, altruism or the spirit of God working in man, some ideal and some main spring of action are essential to the centralization of endeavor that shall make for righteousness.

Dr. Herron's book does not furnish an outline of how the Christian state shall be governed. The author deals generally, rather than particularly, with the subject. He cannot be said to have exhausted it, but he has given the world the best contribution yet made to this particular line of Christian thought.

ADELINE KNAPP.

GERALD MASSEY, POET, PROPHET AND MYSTIC.*

A reviewer must—like Mr. Flower—be a reformer in order understandingly to discuss the work of a reformer. For this reason, especially, the editor of the ARENA was the one man of all others to undertake the task of properly presenting to the public a word portrait of Gerald Massey, who, perhaps, may be regarded first in that immortal trio of modern English labor bards whose second and third members are Charles Mackay and William Morris—all three of whom, like Mr. Flower, have been sufficiently earnest and brave to blend literary art with unpopular truth when occasion has demanded it.

The extreme representatives of that school of art which proclaims absolute divorce between beauty and truth are usually lacking in a keen sense of justice and in that altruistic quality which compels the possessor to condemn a wrong done to others as an injury inflicted upon oneself. And, aside from this, they are invariably deficient in courage to express their honest convictions, not only in art but plain prose, and, as a rule, are in reality less fearful of offending "art" than they are the wealthy and powerful patrons of art by denouncing wrong and injustice in high places. The present age has no use for that class of artists who "walk backward with averted eye," and with blanket to scrupulously cover the issues over which two opposing types of civilization are engaged in a life-and-death conflict.

Some of our editors and literary artists seem as anxious to exclude all suggestion of a "moral" from poetry as Anthony Comstock is the alleged "immoral" from the United States mails, the chief difference being an assumed and guileless unconsciousness, on the part of one, of the existence of "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil," while the other is forever stealing and devouring the fruit, day and night without ceasing, in order to test and illustrate its dire effects upon others. On every hand we are greeted with a sad spectacle to-day—that of full-grown human beings who claim to be poets, journalists, and teachers on platforms and in colleges—professed moulders of human thought and opinion—hanging their harps on the willows, so far as regards moral and spiritual reform, while humanity is sweating drops of blood and groaning in the travail throes of a higher birth. The sight is calculated to make angels weep and give up the conundrum of man's creation. And to hear such men and women, when called upon to use their alleged gifts in the interest of their enslaved fellow beings, decline to defend the right and condemn the wrong on the pretext that "Didacticism and art are incompatible," or, like Pœ,

* "Gerald Massey, Poet, Prophet, and Mystic," by B. O. Flower. Illustrated; extra cloth; price \$1. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

prattle about the irreconcilable oil and waters of beauty and truth," is enough to make the fraternity of the muses unite in praying heaven to evolve another deluge devoted exclusively to the destruction of effete art and artists.

B. O. Flower is an artist who evidently regards that as the best art which does the most for the liberation and elevation of humanity, which is the most divine thing on earth, and in whose interest all forms of religion, science, and art must pay tribute or finally be ignored and forgotten. In his review of Gerald Massey as "Poet, Prophet and Mystic," Mr. Flower has done full justice to his subject, quoting liberally from the best of the poet's prose and poetry.

Many years ago—soon after Mr. Massey's first volume appeared, in 1855—the writer of this review composed music for two of the poet's finest lyrics, "The People's Advent," and "To-day and To-morrow," and sung them in public. But it was not until the present general industrial awakening had quickened and warmed the public heart and mind that the songs were really appreciated for their true value and significance. It was because of this indifference of the masses to the grand altruism embodied in those two lyrics that for years I gave up singing them in my public entertainments and reserved them for reform meetings. At the present time the people seem hungry for them, and in many instances when I sing them to audiences composed of all classes I am called upon to repeat them. This is because the veil has, within a few years, been lifted from the common mind, and the world, finding itself face to face with the dawn of a higher civilization than it has yet known, is ceasing to revile and to stone the prophets who foretold "The People's Advent."

Mr. Flower, in his most excellent and complete tribute to Massey, could not find room for all the good things the poet had written, and I miss one song especially that I also set to music long ago, and which I never tire of singing. It is so wonderful in its scope and melody that I take the liberty of introducing it to the readers of the ARENA, as it is one of those rare things which once heard or read, can never be forgotten.

Onward and Sunward.

Tell me the song of the beautiful stars,
 As grandly they glide on their blue way above us,
 Looking, in spite of our sins and our scars,
 Down on us, tenderly yearning to love us;
 This is the song in their work-worship sang,
 Down through the world-jewelled universe rung,—
 "Onward forever, forever more onward,"—
 And ever they open their loving eyes sunward.

"Onward," shouts earth with her myriad voices
 Of music, aye answering the song of the seven,
 As like a winged child of God's love she rejoices,
 Swinging her censer of glory in Heaven;
 And lo! it is writ by the finger of God,
 On the tree, on the flower and the living green sod
 "Onward forever, forever more onward,"
 And ever she turneth all trustfully sunward.

The mightiest souls of all time hover o'er us,
 Who labored like gods among men, and have gone
 Like great bursts of sun on the dark way before us,—
 They're with us, still with us—our battles to fight on;
 Looking down victor-browed from the glory-crowned hill,
 They beckon and beckon us on; onward still,—
 And the true heart's aspirings are onward, still onward,
 It turns to the future as Earth turneth sunward.

No matter how great a poet may be in the art of expression or in the gift of inspiration, he must, in addition, be a genuine reformer at heart, or he cannot give birth to a successful reform song, which is simply condensed, harmoniously blended statement and sentiment, fused and instilled into melody—melody that inheres in and naturally flows out of the words and carries them forward into higher and more potent expression and infinitely wider and more varied influences than the finest lyric can possibly achieve apart from and independent of melody. This is why a poem that *sings* its way to the human ear and heart is—all other things being equal—the very highest form and art of poetic expression. In fact a poem that sings is a poem with wings by which it is lifted from earth into higher altitudes and carried to millions of hearts and places and heights to which it would otherwise remain forever a stranger.

While I agree with Mr. Flower in the opinion that some of Mr. Massey's later, more mature and carefully written verse entitles him to a place in the front ranks of the world's acknowledged "great poets," I feel that some of his early reform lyrics, written when inspiration and emotion were melted into liquid force through a sense and contemplation of humanity's wrongs and woes—when this force irresistibly created and took possession of its own channels and forms of expression, at times when all thought of "art" was secondary and supplementary—are the poems by which he will be the best remembered and most tenderly regarded in future generations. Why? Because these poems were born with wings on which they soared upward and outward from the morning of Massey's life into the higher atmosphere of human aspiration, whence,

like singing larks, they have been showering their sweet, strong, hopeful notes down upon the world ever since. The three lyrics which are especially named in this review have been sung by the writer to many hundreds of thousands of people who, except for them, would perhaps scarcely have ever heard of their inspired author.

Edmund Clarence Stedman—who, if he had given more time to the development of his own muse and less to magnifying into temporary fame certain "artists" who otherwise would not be known except locally, would rank as the equal of any of our American poets—has, in his matchless essays invariably referred to poets as "singers." And he is correct. Burns is chiefly known through "Old Lang Syne," "Afton Water," "Highland Mary," and "A Man's a Man for a' that," because in these he has sung to the world.

Mr. Flower, whose full and overflowing life affords but little time for the development of the poetic art, but whose various prose works are enriched and interlarded with exquisite passages of unrhymed poetry, has given us some of his highest thought and purest sentiment in this rare book on Gerald Massey, which every lover of humanity and of "applied Christianity" should procure for the library and the fireside.

JAMES G. CLARK.

FIRST POEMS AND FRAGMENTS. *

During the past few years several fugitive verses, one of which has been published in the ARENA, have appeared in leading American publications, over an assumed name. The author was a student in Harvard College, who did not desire his identity revealed until he had completed his education. Recently the verses have been collected, and with the addition of several new poems, have appeared in a tasteful little volume entitled "First Poems and Fragments." The author, Philip H. Savage is a son of the eminent Unitarian clergyman, Rev. Minot J. Savage, whose masterly writings are so well known to our readers. Young Mr. Savage evinces much of the passionate love of nature which characterizes many of his father's poems, but he is little given to philosophizing, and a purpose or definite motive seems absent from several of his creations. Many of the lines reveal a true poetic insight, and the reader is delighted with a fine spiritual appreciation of nature's mysteries. Here are some lines which impress me as being admirable.

The influences of air and sky
Are side lights from the eternal throne

* "First Poems and Fragments," by Philip Henry Savage. Pp. 100; boards; price \$1.25. Copeland & Day, Boston.

That fall upon the watchful eye
 Of him who silent waits, alone,
 And crown him master of his own.
 He knows the beauty of the rose;
 The central sun, the farthest star he knows.

The balance of a blade of grass,
 The winds that in the meadows run,
 Gathering incense as they pass
 To offer to the thronèd sun;
 The trembling secret to be won
 From every running stream; all these
 Are his, yet force him, silent, to his knees.

The watcher shall possess the earth
 In silence, leaping to control
 In moments mighty with the birth
 Of passion, when the eternal soul
 Shall wholly bind him to the whole.
 The air, the sky, the winds, the rose,
 Are his; the earth, and God himself he knows.

These lines further illustrate the poet's love of nature, and the
 outreaching of the soul to the august something we know as God:

Even in the city, I
 Am ever conscious of the sky;
 A portion of its frame no less
 Than in the open wilderness.
 The stars are in my heart by night;
 I sing beneath the opening light,
 As envious of the bird; I live
 Upon the pavement, yet I give
 My soul to every growing tree
 That in the narrow ways I see.
 My heart is in the blade of grass
 Within the courtyard where I pass;
 And the small, half-discovered cloud
 Compels me till I cry aloud.
 I am the wind that beats the walls
 And wanders trembling till it falls;
 The snow, the summer rain am I,
 In close communion with the sky.

Another little gem is called "The Song-Sparrow," and runs thus:

At rest upon some quiet limb
 And singing to his pretty "marrow,"

Sweet-breasted friend of child and man,
I love the bright eyes and the tan,
Gray-mottled coat, that suits the trim
And winsome singing-sparrow.

He seeks no dear and lofty ground;
His home is every ridge and furrow;
In the low alder bushes he's
At home, and in the way-side trees;
Wherever man lives I have found
The nest of the song-sparrow.

Except among the chimney-tops
A-smoking where the trees are narrow;
Where man has banished living green
And scarce a blade of grass is seen
He rarely comes, he never stops,
The little rustic sparrow.

Where twigs are small and branches low
And scarce the name of woods can borrow,
He flits and sings the whole day long,
And "Rivers run," is still his song,
"And flowers blossom, breezes blow,
And all for the song-sparrow!"

I meet him in the tufted field
Among the clover tops and yarrow;
I hear him by the quiet brook,
And always with the open look
Of one who would not be concealed;
And then I meet the sparrow,

When golden lights at evening run
Among the trees the copses thorough;
And there I catch his joyous song,
Stealing the moments that belong
To songsters of the setting sun
And not to the song-sparrow.

When touches of the coming night
Set free the bands of hidden sorrow,
The night bird sounds his ringing note,
And from his melancholy throat
The hermit pours a sad delight,
And no one hears the sparrow.

His song is tuned for his to-day,
With hope and promise for the morrow;

More lofty notes are upward sent,
But none more simple and content,
None cheerfuller in work and play
Than that of the song-sparrow.

The volume is dedicated to the author's sister, Miss Gertrude Savage, and these charming lines are from a poem addressed to his father:

If ever I have thought or said
In all the seasons of the past
One word at which thy heart has bled
Believe me, it will be the last.

The tides of life are deep and wide,
The currents swift to bear apart
E'en kindred ships; but from thy side
I pray my sail may never start.

The critic judges a work to some extent from his point of view, and believing as I do most sincerely that art should be the servant of duty, I notice with deep regret the absence of that vital thought which indicates that the author realizes the supreme fact that

Beyond the poet's sweet dream lives
The eternal epic of the man.

There is a deadly heritage of night pervading popular educational institutions which affects contempt for all art which moves man to nobler attainments. This leprosy of dilettanteism flowers under the favoring smile of slothful conventionalism, and its soul-benumbing influence is frequently felt by youths of high ideals. Almost before they are aware of the fact they find themselves with those to whom such writings as Lowell's "Crisis," or Whittier's trumpet calls to conscience are held to be "bad form"—mistakes or something worse—to be avoided by the poet as one would avoid a plague. In his work, young Mr. Savage seems to have conformed to the conventional slogan of "art for art's sake," and therefore his writings are in a way distinctly disappointing to those who feel that in the present transition period when so many momentous problems are up for consideration, the holy gift of the poet should be consecrated to duty, progress, and the light.

As before observed, however, this first book reveals real poetic power and I sincerely trust that before long the young author may come to feel that the supreme mission of art is to further justice, progress, and enlightenment among the children of men. He is needed in the ranks of those consecrated to the cause of the dawn.

B. O. FLOWER.

A CALIFORNIA WOMAN OF GENIUS.—MISS KNAPP AND
HER NEW WORK. *

Few things in connection with the six years' history of the ARENA have afforded me such genuine and unalloyed pleasure as the remarkable success which has attended the work of a large number of brilliant young writers who have been introduced in a prominent way to the serious reading public by the ARENA, or through the Arena Publishing Company.

It is now over four years since the Arena Company published Mr. Hamlin Garland's first work, "Main-Travelled Roads." Prior to its publication several of Mr. Garland's sketches had been published in the ARENA, and in this way the young author had become popular with a large number of thoughtful readers. The work scored a signal success, and was followed by "Jason Edwards" and "A Spoil of Office," each proving exceedingly popular. Mr. Garland's position among the strongest writers of our day was in a surprisingly short time assured.

Another notable success was the publication of Helen H. Gardener's first long story. This work, "Is This Your Son, My Lord?" proved immensely popular. Almost fifty thousand copies of it have been sold. Like Mr. Garland, Helen Gardener had become a favorite with the ARENA constituency by her clear, strong, and brilliant writings before her brave moral appeal was published. It was followed by "Pray You, Sir, Whose Daughter?" the novel which, more than anything else in fiction, has awakened the public to the infamous character of the Age of Consent laws. This work, which has enjoyed a phenomenal success, has recently been followed by "An Unofficial Patriot," an historical novel dealing with the real life of our people during the fifties and early sixties, and the conditions and problems connected with the Civil War. This work is justly entitled to a high position among the few really great historical novels, and it will, I believe, hold a permanent place in American literature.

Mr. W. D. McCrackan is another fine young scholar, whose essays in the ARENA attracted much attention, and whose first work, "The Rise of the Swiss Republic," published by the Arena Company, instantly secured him an enviable position among the authoritative young writers of our day. His last work, "Swiss Solutions of American Problems," is rightly regarded as the ablest short exposition of the ideal republican measures successfully adopted by Switzerland which has yet been written.

Will Allen Dromgoole dates her success in literature from the appearance of "Fiddling His Way to Fame" in the ARENA. She

* "One Thousand Dollars a Day, and other Social Sketches," by Adeline Knapp. Cloth; pp. 132; price 75 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

has an immense constituency, and a new volume of "Short Stories of Tennessee," which will probably appear within a few months, will undoubtedly enjoy a large sale and add to her merited popularity.

Dr. James R. Cocke, whose recent work on "Hypnotism," published by the Arena Company, is recognized by leading medical and literary critics as the ablest treatise on this important subject which has appeared in America, is another author introduced to the public by the ARENA. These are, however, only a few of a large number of talented writers who have been brought before the serious thinking world by the ARENA, or whose first important works have been published by this company.

It is now my pleasant duty to notice a volume just published by the Arena Publishing Company, written by a young author whose name, I believe, is destined to occupy a high place in our literature; a versatile and brilliant writer who belongs to the noble coterie which marches under the banner of Art for Truth and Progress. The name of Miss Adeline Knapp is by no means unfamiliar to our readers. Who among the thousands who read the sketch, "The Dignity of Labor," has forgotten it? The admirable essay on "Civic Reform in San Francisco" was also from the pen of this gifted author; and I fancy no one who read "The Wealer" will ever forget the story or the writer.

But it is not of Miss Knapp's contributions to the ARENA that I desire to speak at the present time. In her new work, "One Thousand Dollars a Day and other Social Sketches," we have a contribution of real value to the popular economic literature of to-day, no less than a striking illustration of the versatility of the author. Few people can write interesting, vigorous, and telling allegories and fables, and I know of no American writer who has approached Miss Knapp in this field.

"The Sick Man" is a simple, vigorous, and striking sermon on economics, which should be read aloud in every circle of sincere social reformers in America. It is a nineteenth-century fable for men and women, at once clever and interesting, but it is also far more than this; it is a graphic diagnosis of the disease of our present civilization. The first story in the book is a lucid and suggestive sketch, exposing the absurdity and iniquity of the "intrinsic value" fallacy which is making industry the slave of usury. "The Discontented Machine" is another sketch at once vigorous and a telling arraignment of the present infamous conditions by which a few are absorbing the life as well as the comfort and happiness of the many. This unique piece of fiction should have the widest possible reading at the present crisis in the history of the republic. It will set the dullest to thinking. It and "The Sick Man" emphasize lessons as boldly and strikingly as do any of the parables of the New Testament.

Miss Knapp, however, is not only a master in the art of writing parables, allegories, and fables; she bids fair to become one of the strongest writers among the veritists. In realistic portrayal of life as it is, I know of no American writer, excepting Hamlin Garland, who has equalled her. One sketch in the volume before me reveals the power of this talented young woman in this line of work. It is entitled "Getting Ahead," and is a tragedy of common life under the present pitiless reign of gold. It describes in a wonderfully graphic way the rude county court in a little California hamlet. The justice was formerly a farmer, but being elected a justice of the peace he catches the office-seeking mania and is already laying his wires for a more lucrative position. Before this justice are gathered the agent of a foreign syndicate which owns a vast tract of fertile land, a prisoner, and the usual crowd of a country court.

The agent is a shrewd, oily-tongued man from the city, well versed in the arts of the world. He understands how to win by flattery as well as work the well-worn phrases which have so long been employed by the giant robbers and gamblers to deceive and delude the slow-thinking multitude. He descants long on the necessity of upholding the law; that if the prisoner—a sullen Dane standing handcuffed before the justice—is not punished, the beneficent capitalists who live in a foreign land will become uneasy for their capital and will withdraw it, greatly to the detriment of the state; but he knows the justice is a man of probity who will not abuse his oath of office or the confidence which the intelligent farmers and townspeople whom he notices around him placed in their honorable fellow-citizen when they elected him judge. He continues that he is sorry for the prisoner, but he had quarrelled with his fellow workers on a great fruit farm and with the freight agent, and also assaulted the speaker, proving that he is a dangerous and lawless character who must be punished or anarchy will reign. In this way—which is the common method of the anarchists of capital—the oily-tongued agent of the syndicate prejudices the court against the poor Dane.

When the agent closes his statement of the case the justice, with scarce-concealed impatience, turns to the prisoner, saying, "Well, Rassmussen, have you anything to say for yourself?"

The Dane slowly arises, and after vainly looking for a sympathetic face in the assembled audience, thus tells the story of his life in broken English:

"You all, mine neighbors, know me vell," he said simply; "Olaf Rassmussen, I am. In mine country, miles from here, an' seas across, I read an' I hear on America. There, they tell me, is always vork to be done, an' plenty an' vreedom vor the man who vill vork, an' I safe an' safe, me an' mine vooman, an' bimeby ve come on the money vor to pring us the seas across. So den to America vere comen, an' ve puy land an' lif on Minnesota, an' I gets a little house an' ve do vell, an' haf von two children.

"But I hear always Californy, Californy vas the land vor de man vat wants to git ahead, an' I vishes much I had come on Californy. Den one night came to mine house fire, and ve vas all out purned, an' afterwards I make up mine mind I shall come on Californy. So, den I sell mine little farm and ve prings der children to this land. I hafs no more money to puy land, but some man I know he sends me this man to, and he says to me: 'All right, all right, you rent now, you raise pig crops and sells him for much money, and bimeby ve sells you land and you gits ahead fast and has a home here in no time.'

"So I takes mine twenty acres an' I puts in crops, an' me an' mine vooman ve vork. Ven it vas come daylight ve pegin, an' ven it come dark ve vas vorking so as slaves. Ve pulds von house, mine vooman nailing up does valls mit her own hands, an' bimeby ve hat a shed an' horse an' cow, an' nice home, an' mine grain do vell der year, an' I pays mine rent, an' puts py some money. Venefer der vas extra to do I do him, an' ven a neighbor vas hat pad luck I help 'im, an' I do mine duty as a man—you all know dat."

"That's so," said a boy in the crowd. "When my father broke his arm Olaf came over and harrowed for us two days, and never charged a cent." "Mrs. Rassmussen sat up most every night for a week when our baby was so sick and mother came down with the grip," said another close beside me. But the Dane went on with his story, gaining courage and command of language as he proceeded, until he seemed completely to have forgotten everything save the story he was telling.

"Come fruit time, first year, mine vork vas all so I could get along, an' mine vooman she says she can earn money picking cherries in Burns' big orchard. I say 'So?' an' I go see der boss about it. He say vork is plenty and help scarce; but when I look I see he haf a pig gang of Chinamen in der orchard, an' I couldn't let my vooman vork mit dem, an' so I say, 'I vill vork in der orchard, an' you stay der home py and dig der potatoes and hoe der corn.' Vell, I go in der orchard von day, an' I notice der Chinamen go in a corner an' all talking like mad, an' bimeby der boss he comes and tells me I must quit or the whole gang will leaf. I say to 'im, 'Let dem leaf an' git vite men an' voomans to do der vork,' but he tells me he haf hire der gang much cheaper as vite men vill vork, an' he can't afford to make 'em mad. Den I say I vork der day out, an' he goes off. Bimeby came der boss Chinaman an' order me off. I swear I go not, an' den der whole gang came on me for fight, an' I knock some over an' vas most in pieces torn. So the vite boss he pays me nothing vor mine vork, as he say I lost 'im two day' time of der gang. I haf never any trouble of mine neighbor but what I tell you. You all know it.

"Vell, after that I goes on vorking and doing well, an' I haf a great crop of potatoes dat year. Dey grow as I never pefore see, an' one night der agent of der railroad he say to me I pedder be send does potatoes to der city. 'Don't delay,' he say to me, 'or eferybody else will be ahead of you an' gits no market.' I hurried up next day an' gits mine potatoes der station to, an' I see great piles, hundreds bushels potatoes, all at station vor to ship. Der agent say, 'All right, ve can send plenty. I bin poking up der growers. I don't like to see mine neighbors git left,' an' I sends on mine potatoes to der commission men vat he recommends an' pays mine freight, an' he tells me I make lots of money. I keep not back any, as I needs dat money and vas thinking I might bargain dat year to puy der land. Vell, I valts tree, four days—a week. Den come vort by does commission men dat

der city vas full of potatoes, an' der papers had been telling a week now how der potatoes vas being dumped in der bay at der city, an' mine had been dumped in, too. Der letter said any man vas a fool to ship den. I show 'im to some mens, an' dey laugh an' say dat agent vas tam smart, anyway, to git the potatoes shipped an' secure his freight; but I vas out mine crop an' mine freight money, an' mine children got no shoes dat winter nor me an' mine vooman any clothes, an' it vas a hard pull. I talked with dat agent, an' he say mine loss non his pizness. His pizness vas to do vell by der railroad company. Dat vas vat he vas paid for. I haf no trouble mit him, but von man vat he so fool try to kill him an' vas put in prison. You all know it.

"Vell, next year ve do better. Comes a little feller to mine house to lif, but der crops 'is good an' ve make some money. Den ve tink maybe ve can pay der land dis year, an' I haf tree hundred dollar to make von payment. I say so to this man here ven he come, but he tell me his company haf conclude not to sell, but to rent der land. He say der come soon annuder road the place through, and value will be higher, so der company conclude to hold, and then he tell me he must have bigger rent der next year. I tell him impossible, I cannot pay more, an' he say he haf a tenant vot can, an' he tell me tree, four Japs vant der place for nursery an' vegetables to send to city, an' vill pay bigger rent. I tell him nopody can pay more an' put up puildings, an' he say puildings are already up. Vy, I tells him, dem mine puildings are an' mine fences, an' all vat is on der place mine, made mit mine own hands an' mine vooman's, an' paid for mit mine own money; but he say dere is nothing in der agreement about dat, or mine taking off any puildings or peing paid for any improvements, an' der place must stand just so as it vas. I could pay der higher rent or move off and let der Japs pay it. Den I look around on mine little home, an' see dat pretty house covered mit der vines mine vooman had planted, an' der rose trees in der garden, an' dat little vineyard by der side of der house, an' der hen-yard and barn vere I could hear mine horse stomping, an' I thought of all dem two years an' mine hard vork, an' it seems like I got crazy; an' I asks dat man vas it der law in free America? an' he tell me he had all der law on his side an' der company would uphold him; an' I made up mine mind he would nefer lif to tell his company about dat, an' so I picked up a cart stake an' vent for him. He got away an' jumped in his buggy before I could kill him, or I would."

By this time the Dane's rage was again in the ascendancy. His sullen face was actually black with anger, and he ground his teeth and shook his manacled hands at the smiling agent.

"Dey all lif not here," he shouted. "Does Chinamen lif not here nor build up der country! Does railroad people lif not here! Does land company lif not here! Dere all like so many plud vorns, suck, suck, sucking at der life of men vat vork hard. Vy should I not kill von of them?"

Seldom in literature do we find anything so truly real, so simple, and yet so supremely tragic as this little story. It reveals real genius, and in this case the genius is wedded to a heart of love and a brain aflame with a passion for justice. I predict for Miss Knapp a brilliant future. One of the most encouraging signs of the times is found in the presence of a constantly increasing number of young men and women of genius and heart who are championing the cause of justice and humanity, and in this noble coterie Miss Knapp is making her way to the front.

B. O. FLOWER.

ENEMIES IN THE REAR.*

Fiction holds a most important place in letters to-day. Through its channels the world's correspondence on all great fundamental questions of life, conduct, and morals is carried on. To say that the province of fiction is this, that, or the other thing, or to limit its powers and horizon in any direction, is absurd; and whether it shall preach, instruct, moralize, philosophize, or shall entertain and amuse and while away one's hours in an intellectual see-saw exercise, it is legitimate for the author's individuality only to determine. Writers of fiction being of as diversified temperaments as any other body of men, we must therefore expect a variety of themes; and should remember that if one has a hobby for Spenser's Fairy Queen, a next-door neighbor may have a hobby for the "New Woman." This very fact may only produce a Sarah Grand or a Grant Allen, but still "free speech" should be allowed in the field of fiction as elsewhere. We can always hope for something better than the above-named authors are capable of on the same question.

The historical novel will always retain a large and respectable constituency of readers; just as an organ of Episcopallianism, or other religious denomination, with an established reputation of fifty years' standing, can be correctly regarded as valuable property by the practical business head. Sir Walter Scott will live as long as it is the tendency to grow conservative with the rounding-up of a two-score years—even if this fact proves nothing to his favor, but merely suggests the unprogressiveness of the human mind itself.

In this country there are boundless opportunities and a wide field of interest for the historical novel; and it will in no way clash with the apostles of and believers in that fractional part of life which they are pleased to call "realism"—the historic time of our country having been lived though but yesterday.

We have before us an intensely interesting admixture of history and fiction, with more of the former quality, however, in it, entitled "Enemies in the Rear; or, A Golden Circle Squared," by Francis T. Hoover. There is more of the patriot than the artist seen through its pages; and personal sympathies have taken the fiction side of the work into rather conventional lines of thought. Still the author's main purpose, to present the history of one of the most dangerous organizations that the national government had to contend with in the rear during the war of secession, is conscientiously and admirably executed, and much praise is due him. It is well known, of course, that one of the most prominent of the above-mentioned organizations during that eventful period of the United States, 1861-65, was the Knights of the Golden Circle, known as the Sons of Liberty. It was in hot sympathy with the South; it resisted the

* "Enemies in the Rear," by Francis T. Hoover. Cloth \$1.25, paper 50 cents. Arena Publishing Co., Boston, Mass.

Draft Act, discouraged volunteering, protected and encouraged deserters from the army, returned negroes to their southern masters; its members held themselves ready to abduct Lincoln for the purpose of putting an end to what they deemed an "unholy war."

Mr. Hoover gives us a dramatic account of a dangerous branch of this great organization in Southeastern Pennsylvania among the Dutch or Germans there, and a descriptive account of the "Copton Brigade." Prefatory to placing the scene of his story in this section of the country he says: "What the side-shows are to the main exhibition were some of the incidents happening in neighborhoods remote from the seat of war to the greater conflict itself; and even as in the side-shows queerer objects are often to be seen than in the main exhibition, so perhaps in these incidents stranger phases of character and modes of thought and action were manifested than in the principal drama." The author then proceeds, with a skilful pen and elaboration of detail, to initiate us into the mysteries and secrets of Golden Circleism, taking us into the heart of the meetings in the dark sheds at midnight and right into the hearing of some of the speeches of the leaders of the organization.

A lighter yet interesting chapter or so is devoted to the excuses, real and invented, heard before the commissioner of draft for exemption from military duty. Many of these, no doubt, are historically true — and, naturally, humorous.

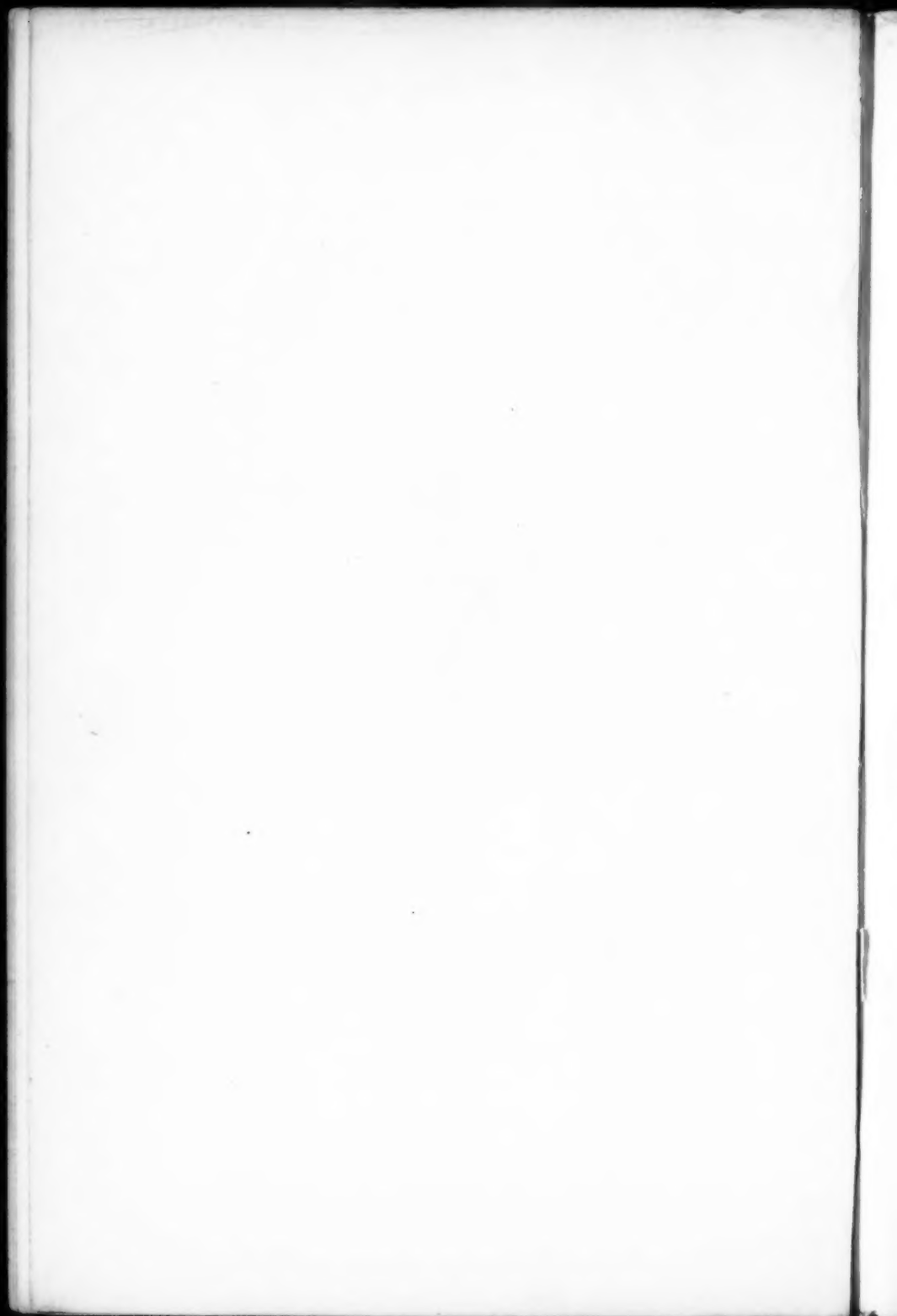
The writer evidently does not recognize any just cause or good reason for opposition to the war; even though a more philosophic mind, while deprecating the features which grew out of it and the corrupt methods to gain points, might reserve at least some excuse for the feeling on grounds altogether foreign to the slavery issue. In pitting individual against individual, those on the side that the author's sympathies are with he paints as heroes, certainly only conventional heroes who always have the knack of "downing" their brutal, bullying, yet cowardly opponents; and in the fiction woven around this history every individual Knight of the Golden Circle is painted without a redeeming virtue, and they remind us of stage villains who get their deserts at last. But this is only incidental, and detracts nothing from the historical value of his work; though being placed together with the cement of fiction and romance, it is not altogether out of place to note this tendency. An historian is generally a bit of an advocate for the cause which appeals to his personal sense of justice; but the emergence of the novelist into the historian should aid him in keeping a nice balance of fairness. But we do not dispute Mr. Hoover's deductions on the purely historical part of his story — they are well meant and are intended, as he says, to deepen the interest of the present generation in the greatest of all our wars, and thus to strengthen their patriotism and their appreciation of the deeds brave men and women did, and of the sufferings they bore, in that decisive period of our national existence.

The opening sentence in the preface is really the summing up of the historical part of the story, relating to the doings and workings of the Knights of the Golden Circle. It reads as follows:

To square the circle, that is to determine its exact contents in square measure, has generally been held to be impossible; but, as herein appears, the national government solved the famous problem perfectly, at least so far as it related to the Golden Circle of Knights in southeastern Pennsylvania. And the solution showed the exact contents of this particular circle to be an admixture, in about equal parts, of ignorance, hypocrisy and treason.

A secondary object of Mr. Hoover's book is to give us an account of the character, customs, and manners of the Pennsylvania Dutch, and also to present some of their prevailing superstitions, and to give us an idea of the dialect or *patois* — being a mixture of English and Dutch or German words — spoken by them. This he has done very successfully without over-emphasis. In this matter he has had the advantage of being to the manner born so that he has not been betrayed into the too common literary sin of perpetrating a new and abominable lingo that pretends to be the dialect of the people of a certain locality. He knows the peculiarities of the German Pennsylvania character, and he has given us some new and amusing types in fiction.

JONATHAN PENN.



INDEX TO THE THIRTEENTH VOLUME OF THE ARENA.

- Age of Consent Legislation. (Symposium.) Hon. C. H. Robinson. Hon. Z. H. Gurley. Hon. J. E. Rowen. Hon. A. C. Tompkins. Hon. Will H. Lyons. 209.
- Allen. T. E., Hudson's Duality of Mind Disproved. 177.
- American Girl. An, Shall our Young Men Study in Paris? 131.
- Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain and the United States. 376.
- August Present. The, 401.
- Battle for Sound Morality. A, 353.
- Beasts. Two, 135.
- Bland and a New Party. 50.
- Bonaparte. Napoleon, (First Paper.) 271. (Second Paper.) 438.
- Boston Schools and Teachers. 38.
- British House of Commons. The, 31.
- Brotherhood. (Poem.) 507.
- Brotherhood of India. The, 478.
- Chapman. Altona A., Is the Single Tax Enough? (Symposium.) 413.
- Child Life and the Kindergarten. 292.
- Clark. Hon. Walter, The Telegraph in England. 372.
- Clark. James G., "Gerald Massey: Poet, Prophet and Mystic." (Book Review.) 511.
- Connolly. Margaret, Song Blossoms. (Book Review.) 153.
- Davis. John, Napoleon Bonaparte. (First Paper.) 271. (Second Paper.) 439.
- Dawley. Julia A., Young West. (Book Review.) 173.
- Deering. Allison Gardner, "The Light in the East." (Poem.) 313.
- Dromgoole. Will Allen, Rags. 492.
- Duff. Grace Shaw, Two Beasts. 135.
- Emmott. Prof. George H., An Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain and the United States. 376.
- Epoch and a Book. An, 74.
- Ex-Democrat of Missouri. An, Bland and a New Party. 50.
- Fallen. (Poem.) 303.
- Flower. B. O., Winter Days in Florida. 1. Prostitution within the Marriage Bond. 59. The Coming Revolution. (Book Review.) 138. The Spanish Peninsula. 192. The Right of the Child Considered in the Light of Heredity and Prenatal Influence. 243. The August Present. 401. First Poems and Fragments. (Book Review.) 514. One Thousand Dollars a Day. (Book Review.) 518.
- Fuller, Alice W., A Wife Manufactured to Order. 305.
- Gardener. Helen H., A Battle for Sound Morality. 353.

- Gay. Sarah Mifflin, *Is the Single Tax Enough?* (Symposium.) 284.
- Gurley. Hon. Z. H., *Age of Consent Legislation.* (Symposium.) 218.
- Hinton. Richard J., *Wendell Phillips: A Reminiscent Study.* 226.
- Human Destiny. 454.
- Knapp. Adeline, *The Christian State.* (Book Review.) 508.
- Laws Governing the Age of Consent in Canada. 88.
- Light in the East. *The,* (Poem.) 313.
- Lyons. Hon. Will H., *Age of Consent Legislation.* (Symposium.) 223.
- Manley, D. D. Rev. W. E., *Human Destiny.* 454.
- Member of the Order. A, *The Brotherhood of India.* 478.
- Middle Ground, *The,* 472.
- Miller. J. R., *Are the People of the West Fanatics?* 92.
- Monopoly, Militia, and Man as Revealed in the Brooklyn Trolley Strike. 98.
- Muzzey. Annie L., *Brotherhood.* (Poem.) 507.
- Nationalism. *First Steps in,* 26.
- Outline of a New Philosophy of Money. 199.
- Parsons. Prof. Frank, *The People's Lamps.* (First Paper.) 118. (Second Paper.) 381.
- Peeke. Margaret B., *The Psychic and the Spiritual.* 43.
- People's Lamps. *The,* (First Paper.) 118. (Second Paper.) 381.
- People of the West Fanatics? *Are the,* 92.
- Penn. Jonathan, *The Story of a Canon.* (Book Review.) 159.
- Enemies in the Rear. (Book Review.) 523.
- Phillips. Wendell, 226.
- "Preston Papers." Author of Boston Schools and Teachers. 38.
- Prostitution within the Marriage Bond, 59.
- Psychic and the Spiritual. *The,* 43.
- Public Health and National Defence. 424.
- Rags. 491.
- Richter. Emil, *Monopoly, Militia, and Man as Revealed in the Brooklyn Trolley Strike.* 98.
- Ridpath. John Clark, *An Epoch and a Book.* 74.
- Right of the Child Considered in the Light of Heredity and Prenatal Influence. 243.
- Robbins. George Sidney, *The Middle Ground.* 472.
- Robinson. Hon. C. H., *Age of Consent Legislation.* (Symposium.) 211.
- Robinson. Lona I., *Is the Single Tax Enough?* (Symposium.) 411.
- Rowen. Hon. J. E., *Age of Consent Legislation.* (Symposium.) 217.
- Russell. Frances E., *Is the Single Tax Enough?* (Symposium.) 286, 418.
- Schindler. Solomon, *First Steps in Nationalism.* 26.
- Shall Our Young Men Study in Paris? 131.
- Smith. E. W., *Laws Governing the Age of Consent in Canada.* 88.
- Social Problems: Representative Women on "Is the Single Tax Enough?" Sarah Mifflin Gay. 284. Frances E. Russell. 286. Lona I. Robinson. 411. Altona A. Chapman. 413. Frances E. Russell. 418.
- Taylor. A., *The Universal Church.* 185.
- Telegraph in England. *The,* 372.

Tompkins. Hon. A. C., Age of Con- sent Legislation. (Symposium.) 220.	
Universal Church. The, 185.	
Vere. Cecelia De, Fallen. (Poem.) 303.	
Voice from the South. A New, 503.	
Vrooman. Frank B., Child Life and the Kindergarten. 292. Public Health and National Defence. 425.	
Webb. Anson J., Outline of a New Philosophy of Money. 199.	
Wells. M. L., A New Voice from the South. 503.	
Whiting. Lillian, A Story of Psy- chical Communication. 263.	
Wife Manufactured to Order. A, 305.	
Winter Days in Florida. 1.	
Wright. Marcus J., The British House of Commons. 31.	

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Coming Revolution . . .	138
Song Blossoms . . .	153
The Story of a Canon . . .	159
Young West . . .	173
Enemies in the Rear . . .	175
Pilate's Query . . .	315
The Standard Oil Company as an Object Lesson for Thoughtful Americans . . .	320
Life's Story as Told by the Hand, as Interpreted by Cheiro the Palmist . . .	329
Aristopia . . .	338
A Market for an Impulse . . .	347
Gladstone: A Study from Life . . .	350
The Power of Silence . . .	351
The Christian State . . .	508
Gerald Massey: Poet, Prophet and Mystic . . .	511
First Poems and Fragments . . .	514
One Thousand Dollars a Day . . .	518
Enemies in the Rear . . .	523



